OLCOTT NUMBER

ब्रह्मविद्या BRAHMAVIDYĀ

THE ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

तस्मै स विद्वानुपसन्नाय सम्यक्
प्रशान्तचित्ताय शमान्विताय ।
येनाक्षरं पुरुषं वेद सत्यं
प्रोवाच तां तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम् ॥

UNTO him who approaches in due form, whose mind is serene and who has attained calmness, the wise one teaches in its very truth that Brahmavidya whereby one knows the Imperishable, the Purusha, the Truth.

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COLONEL HENRY STEEL OLCOTT

His Life and Its Lessons

BY ANNIE BESANT

[Extracted from an old pamphlet (pp. 9-18) embodying a lecture delivered by Annie Besant on 27 March 1907 at Benares. The occasion of the lecture was a meeting to commemorate the life of Colonel Olcott, the work he had done for India, for religion, and for the world. Pp. 1-8 of the pamphlet deal with Colonel Olcott's early life. An American by birth, his life fell chiefly into three distinct phases. In the earliest, his scientific interests leading to valuable additions of knowledge to American agriculture; followed the period of stress of the Civil War when his talents were used both in the battle-field and "to check corruption in the Army and Navy Departments of the States." He then took up the profession of Law, the third phase of his life, and became a wealthy man. As a journalist and scientist he came to investigate the remarkable spiritualistic phenomena then taking place at the Eddy Farm House, New York, in the course of which he met Madame H. P. Blavatsky and with her founded The Theosophical Society.]

IN this way Colonel Olcott was trained by the Masters to become the Head of the Society that was soon to be born, a Society which was to give to the world truths which the West did not possess and which the East had forgotten, truths which lie at the basis of every religion; and to give them with authority, as learned directly from Those who were Masters of knowledge. We may read in his first address to the Theosophical Society how far he foresaw the work of the Society, and where he was in error: right in the larger part, mistaken in one thing which he thought was to form a portion of that work, but which fell into the background—the public working of phenomena to convince the sceptical. . . .

After a few years of T. S. work in America, Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky came to India together, and here built up the strong foundations of the Theosophical Society, which has since spread through every land. Many of the Indians had, at this time, become very much materialised, and while studying western philosophy, they knew nothing of the wonders of Indian thought, were ignorant of the great Vedāntic writers, and of the treasures of Saṃskṛt learning.

It was only when western voices spoke in reverence of the eastern wisdom that young Indians were willing to listen. . . . Colonel Olcott travelled through the country, teaching the old doctrines, and he was gradually listened to. He came with his past behind him; it was known that he was thoroughly trained in western methods, and yet he praised the eastern learning, and bade them turn back to it; and India awoke to the sense of her heritage, and began to realise what she had to teach from the treasures of the past.

At first this American and this Russian were regarded with grave suspicion. There were at that time great fears of Russian aggression; of course she was a Russian spy; it was clear she could have no other object here; she, a descendant of princes, accustomed to luxury, why should she come and lead a simple Indian life, unless there were some secret plot? So they were watched by the police, who dogged their footsteps and made themselves a nuisance. At last Colonel Olcott wrote about it to the American Government, who made a complaint to the Indian Government; witness was borne to his own birth and standing, and to the high rank of his companion in her own land, and the matter was not allowed to drop, till the Indian Government wrote, declaring themselves satisfied, and there was no more trouble.

Strange things happened during the Indian tours; the Colonel developed a wonderful power of healing with a touch or a word, and hundreds flocked around him to be healed. For 18 months this continued; then the power was withdrawn, and his great work as a healer came to an end, although he always retained his own natural magnetic power. The two after a while went to Ceylon, and there they publicly became Buddhists, taking *pānsil*. Some have blamed them for this step, as being against the broad basis of the T. S.; but both were, in fact, Buddhists by mental constitution, indifferent to forms, impatient of restraint, with a tendency towards the Advaita Philosophy and the teachings of Buddhism in general; so it was quite natural and right that they should enter that religion, and by so doing they publicly marked the fact that India was the mother of religions. Buddhism, unlike her mother, Hinduism, welcomes into her fold all who will enter; moreover, they were constitutionally Buddhists rather than Hindus; they embraced that faith in order to show in the most public and striking way their love for the land and their identification with eastern teaching. Colonel Olcott cared little for metaphysics, but very much for common sense. He would often quote the words of the Buddha: "Do not believe a thing because another tells it, nor because Sages have written it, nor even on the authority of your own teachers. But believe it when it is corroborated by your own consciousness; and when you believe of your own consciousness, then act accordingly." You have there his philosophy in a nutshell.

But he was none the less, as a Buddhist, the servant of every great religion. To Hindus he talked as a Hindu, and it was he who began the religious education of Hindu boys. He could not found Hindu Schools, so he formed Hindu

Boys' Associations in every great town he visited, and when he had formed them, he coaxed and scolded the leading wealthy men of the place into buying books for the boys who could not afford to get them for themselves. These Associations paved the way for our own educational movement, and he was the pioneer of the revival of religious education amongst the Hindus. In Ceylon, he founded two Buddhist Colleges and hundreds of schools. Before he went there, there was not a single Buddhist School in the island, but before he had been there many years, many of the missionary schools found it hard to keep open, for the boys would attend the schools where they had the advantage of learning their own religion. Not only did he found schools, but he fought for Buddhism both here and in London. There was a law in Ceylon which prevented the founding of any school within a certain number of miles of one already existing, and as there were missionary schools in every centre, monopolising all the good sites, it meant that Buddhist schools could either not be founded at all, or only on out-of-the-way sites. So he went to London, and there pointed out the iniquity of a law which denied to a nation the education of its own children in its own religion. The Government gave way to the cry for justice; the law was repealed in spite of all the efforts of the missionaries to prevent it, and Buddhists were set free to build their own schools in their own villages. Nor was this his only work for the Buddhist faith: he travelled to Japan, and there met the leading Buddhist priests in that country, and discussed with them their own faith. Knowing already the Buddhism of Ceylon, Siam and Burma, he was able to talk over the differences between the Southern Church and the Northern, and he worked so tactfully and so effectively that the result was the drawing up of the "fourteen fundamental

ositions of Buddhism" in a form which could be ac-d not only in Japan and China, but also in Burma, and Ceylon; thus the two great Buddhist communities for the first time knit together into one. When he was dead in his Adyar home, the flag which he had devised which had been accepted by the Buddhist nations covered corpse, and was carried with it to the burning-place.

Of his services to Hinduism I have already spoken. The religion of Zoroaster also vibrated to his teaching, and he stirred its followers into activity, showing them the lines of research that would justify their faith to the world, and a Parsi voiced the thanks of the Parsi community when he had passed away. For Islam also he laboured, though not to the same extent. This was no fault of his; the difficulty lay with the Mussalmans themselves, who for the most part keep aloof from the T. S., and resent the coming of a foreigner to preach their faith. Yet one of their own Moulvis begged him to enter the faith, for none, he declared, could preach it with more power than he. Some of them also became members of the Society. For Christianity, perhaps, he did least of all; but for that there was good reason. His work lay very little in the West, and in the East, where he chiefly laboured, Christianity was an aggressive religion, and he made it his business to defend the faiths which it attacked. Yet he did some service for Christianity also. Thus general was his work for the religions of the world.

It may be asked: "Why did he make the Headquarters of the Society in India?" Because both he and H. P. B. felt that it was in India that the religious problem of the world must be solved, and the race problem also. Here alone, amongst all the continents of the world, you find every great religion. There is no doubt at all about the immense time that both Hinduism and Buddhism have existed in this land;

nor is there any question as to the thirteen centuries since the followers of Zoroaster found an asylum here, or about the period when Islam entered conquering. You may think Christianity is more modern, but this is not so; in Southern India there are Christian colonies that have been in existence at least since the third century of the Christian era, if not still earlier, so Christianity itself has Indian followers born for seventeen centuries upon Indian soil. Thus all the great religions are represented here, and if peace can be made between them here, it will be made everywhere. If Indians, living side by side, can so realise the oneness of their own faiths, that the outer diversities can be transcended by the recognition of that inner unity, then may the religious peace of India spread to every other part of the globe, and in all countries may all religions be recognised as one, and religious hatreds cease.

We hear with delight of proposals to build in London a Hindu temple, a Buddhist temple, a Zoroastrian temple, a mosque; for when the metropolis of the Empire thus recognises all faiths as equal under one imperial sceptre, then the peace of God shall triumph in the world. This was the great work for which Colonel Olcott laboured, this the goal at which he aimed.

Theosophy is the declaration of the one religion—the Knowledge of God and the Love of man; this is the great unifier, the peace-maker, and Colonel Olcott with his dying lips spoke the message of the Brotherhood of all Religions. It was by his wish that the sacred books of all these faiths were placed at his head, when he lay dead, and that the representatives of the religions gathered round, and spake their own Scriptures in their own tongues. The Brahmanas and the Buddhists forgot their narrowness and their differences, and together bore his body to the funeral pyre—the body that was not eastern in its birth. Where in India has that ever before

been done? Where have Buddhists and Brahmaṇas joined together to carry a white body to the burning? But they felt that this man belonged not to any in separation, but to all.

This Society to which he devoted his life on earth, to which he has pledged his life on the other side of death, to work for which he has promised to return, to which no greater devotion than his can ever be given—this Society incorporates the spirit that moved him in life and in death, the recognition of the unity of all faiths, no distinction between the white men and the coloured, no hatred based on religious differences; and if you would make one United India, this is the greatest lesson you must learn from his life. While the religions of the land are regarded as rivals, India will be divided, and a United India will remain a dream; but when all men see these religions as branches of one Truth, as forming but one great Religion—when that is recognised, then, and then only, will India become one. That religious unity is what we call Theosophy, the Divine Wisdom, the Knowledge of God—the basis of all religions, and the Love of Man—the Brotherhood of all races and classes. Amongst the workers for Indian nationality, Colonel Olcott is one of the greatest, because he struck at the root of separateness, the hatreds between religions, races and classes. People are talking of memorials to be raised in his honour; to me his memorial is found wherever men of different religions meet together in love, wherever white men and colored men meet as brothers. Wherever such union is, wherever men forget their differences and live as brothers, where Mussalman clasps the hand of Hindu, and Buddhist, Parsi and Christian link hands with them, there is Olcott's true memorial, there, and there only, have been learned the lessons of his life.

EDITORIAL

In introducing the first part of the sixth volume of the *Bulletin*, it is my pleasant duty to express my feelings of deep gratitude to Dr. George S. Arundale, the President of the Theosophical Society, for the great interest that he takes in all the activities of the Library and especially in the conduct of this *Bulletin*. His encouragement has ever been a source of inspiration to all my colleagues and myself in the Library and the success of the *Bulletin* is to a large measure due to the continued support that he has been giving in innumerable ways.

It is a matter of rejoicing to record here that the title of Vidyā-Kalānidhi was conferred on Dr. Arundale by the Bharata Dharma Mahamandal, Benares City. Ever since he came over to India about forty years ago, he has identified himself with the interest of India. In every aspect of his life, he has shown that there is no conflict between East and West, between the essential basis of European and of Indian Civilization, between the fundamentals of the various religions. No one deserves the appellation more than the President of the Theosophical Society.

I take this opportunity to thank Dr. G. Srinivasa Murti for the constant guidance he has given me in issuing the *Bulletin*. Although my name appears as editor, Dr. Srinivasa Murti, the Director of the Library, is really the live wire. Thanks are due to the contributors, to the subscribers, to those who send books for review and to those who exchange their

periodicals with the *Bulletin.* It is requested that their co-operation may continue.

The formation of an All-India Manuscripts Libraries Association which has been engaging our attention for some time and about which we have been issuing periodical information through this *Bulletin* has become an accomplished fact. I have great pleasure in conveying our thanks to Dr. M. Nizamuddin, the Local Secretary of the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, and Mr. G. Yazdani, the President for affording all the necessary facilities to enable the representatives of the great Libraries to come together and to form themselves into an Association and for permitting the meeting of the representatives in the room of the Executive Committee of the Conference. As a result of the meeting the following Constitution was adopted :

The meeting took place at 4 p. m. on 21-12-41 with Professor P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri of Madras in the chair.

Present :

Professor P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Curator, Eastern Section, Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

Dr. H. D. Velankar, Representing the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Honorary Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Sri M. S. Basavalingayya, Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

Dr. S. K. De, Dacca.

Sri A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

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It was unanimously resolved that the above seven members be the foundation members of the Association: Professor P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri was elected President and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Secretary. A Committee consisting of the President and the Secretary with the following gentlemen was constituted namely:

Dr. S. K. De, Dr. Dandekar, Dr. Velankar, Mr. Basavalingayya, and Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar with power to co-opt. A minimum subscription of Re. 1/- per session of the Association was agreed upon and the Association to meet every time that the Oriental Conference met. The next session is to be held at Delhi along with the All-India Oriental Conference. The Secretary was authorized to issue bulletins and to bring the Association to public notice. After the meeting was over, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu of Jodhpur—to whom the concerned literature and the aims of the Association were explained, agreed to join the Association and to serve in the Committee. A letter of confirmation is awaited from him.

The Library was represented at the Eleventh Session of the Oriental Conference at Hyderabad by Dr. G. Srinivasa Murti, and Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Curator of the Eastern Section and the Editor of the *Adyar Library Bulletin* also attended the Conference and contributed papers. To the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress which took place almost simultaneously at Hyderabad, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar was deputed on behalf of the Library. He contributed papers to both the Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress and took part in the discussions of the sectional proceedings of both the Conference and the Congress. It is gratifying to mention that the publication activities of the Adyar Library found a prominent reference in the presidential address of Mr. Yazdani.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja represented the Library in the Indian Philosophy Congress which met at Aligarh in December 1941.

The publication of the *Bulletin* has never been a profitable concern. It was not undertaken with any hope of realizing a profit. Nor is there any such hope entertained when the *Bulletin* is being continued. As has been often repeated, the Library has been spending a large sum of money every year, for the past many years, and the sole ground for gratification to those responsible for the publication activities of the Library is that through this, the Library is contributing something to the world's knowledge, to raising the life of man to a higher level both intellectually and spiritually. It is a further gratification that the work of the Adyar Library has been duly recognized throughout the world. At a period in the history of man, when an undue value is attached to the fleeting elements in man's life and when the permanent factors are generally ignored, it is only such institutions as the Adyar Library (and we are grateful to feel that this is not alone in the field) that can keep the torch of knowledge about the higher things in man burning and shedding its light on a world that would otherwise be utterly immersed in darkness. Racial animosities, religious fueds, national jealousies, political rivalries, class hatreds, industrial and commercial competitions, labour disputes, all these degrading factors in man's life on this earth have at their root an undue prominence to what is really insignificant in his true being and a complete lack of understanding of man's real nature, his real mission, his true goal. The profit arising out of the dissemination of such higher knowledge is the one that we hope for in spending money on the publication activities of the Library.

Even when we fixed the subscription of this *Bulletin* at Rs. 6/- per year and when we proposed that every year

the *Bulletin* should contain at least 80 formes, we knew that the amount would be far short of the actual cost of bringing out the *Bultelin*. The *Bulletin* normally contains more than 80 formes. We are reminded of the lines from Kālidāsa regarding learning and wealth that they never exist together in the same person :

> nisargabhinnāspadam ekasamstham
> yasmin dvayam s'rīs' ca sarasvatī ca |

and

> parasparavirodhinyor
> ekasaṃs'rayadurlabham |
> saṅgatam s'rīsarasvatyor
> bhūtaye 'stu sadā satām ||

So we know that persons interested in the *Bulletin* cannot afford to pay any high subscription and we fixed the subscription at this low level. Recently the cost of printing has risen considerably. As yet, we are hoping to be able to manage without raising the subscription and we further pray that normal conditions be soon restored among nations, so that we would not be constrained by sheer necessity to make any alteration in our rates of subscription.

There being no change for the better in the international situation, the policy of issuing all the publications only though the *Bulletin* has had to be adhered to strictly. The first part of the *Ās'valāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* with the *bhāṣya* of Devasvāmin containing the first Adhyāya was completed in the fourth part of the last volume. It is proposed to publish one forme of the English translation in each part for the corresponding portion. The latter is a continuation of what appeared in the October issue of 1938. The Text and Translation of the second part will be taken up later. According to the programme laid out, it is

contemplated to complete the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (1st Adhyāya), the *Usāṇiruddho*, the *Jīvanandanam*, the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, the *Catur-daśalakṣaṇī*, Part 1 and the *Āpastamba-smṛti* during the current year. For the first time the Library has issued a printed Catalogue for the printed books in the Western Section with the title *Catalogue of the Adyar Library—Western Section*, Part 1, under the supervision of Bhikshu Arya Asanga, our Joint Director and Curator, Western Section. The second part is now on the rails and it is expected to be completed during the course of the year.

A word of thanks is due to Sri S. Parasurama Gurukkal, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Kālahasti, for co-operating with us and furnishing all the necessary information for the publication of the Kālahasti Inscriptions which appear in this issue.

We are receiving constant enquiries about the publication of the Ancient Indian Civilization Series, of which we had given a plan a little over two years ago. Our readers are aware that unhappy developments began to come up in the international situation about that time and we felt that since the undertaking contemplated is one of international interest and one that would go on for some years before completion, we should take some more auspicious opportunity to launch such a scheme, when it would be possible for us to have free communication with all countries and nations. As we have once before said the scheme is not abandoned, but is only held in abeyance awaiting happier days. Meanwhile we are attending to various details regarding the project and active steps of a preliminary nature will soon be taken up, though the publication can start only when the international situation clears up.

FOUR DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE KĀḶAHASTI TEMPLE

By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

and

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The following four Telugu documents are copied in a palm leaf MS. of 6 folios which belongs to the Adyar Library (Shelf XXXII, C. 23). The MS. was noticed by Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., who placed a copy of it in our hands some time ago. Our thanks are due to him for this and for the genealogy of the family of one of the Gurukkaḷs (mentioned in document no. 4) given below.

The documents appear to be copies of originals no longer traceable. The MS. is incomplete, the last document stopping abruptly in the middle of folio 6-b.

The documents, which are all dated, relate to certain transactions of the Kāḷahasti temple that took place at different dates.

DOCUMENT NO. 1: 1681-2 A.D.

The first document which is written on the first two folios of the MS. is dated S'aka 1603, Durmati, Māgha ba. di. 14 and records a benefaction by Velugōṭi Baṅgāru Yāchama Nāyaḍu,

son of Kumāra Yāchama and grandson of Velugōṭi Peda Yāchama of the Rēcherla-*gōtra*, to Kāḷahastīs'vara and Jñānaprasūnāmbikā, the presiding deities of the S'aiva temple at Kāḷahasti. It is stated that the Velugōṭi chief provided the means for conducting daily worship and the festivals of *Makara-saṅkrānti* and *S'ivarātri* in the temple; this he did by granting a portion *(mēra)* of the annual revenues in kind accruing to him from the villages of the Veṅkaṭagiri-*sīma* of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam-*rājya*, a territory granted to him as *jāgir* by the Hazarat Alampanā. The *mēra* was fixed at one *kuñcha* per *puṭṭi* of grain. Besides this gift in kind, the Velugōṭi chief was also pleased to grant a yearly cash payment of 24 *varāhas*. These gifts were placed, for supervision and execution, in the hands of the priest of the temple, Sadās'iva Gurukkaḷ, son of Naina Gurukkaḷ and grandson of Īs'vara Gurukkaḷ of the Yajus-*s'ākhā* and Āpastamba-*sūtra*.

The donor, Velugōṭi Baṅgāru Yāchama, whose date is given in this record as S'aka 1603 (1681 A.D.), may be identified with Rajah Bahadur Baṅgāru Yāchama Nāyaḍu of the 22nd generation of the Velugōṭi chiefs. The Velugōṭi chiefs subsequent to Peda Yāchama Nāyaka, the grandfather of the present donor, were ruling from their headquarters at Uttaramallūru—consequent on their migration during the time of Peda Yāchama Nāyaka to Madurāntakam and Uttaramallūru *sīmas* when these territories were granted to Peda Yāchama as *Nāyaṅkara* by the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭapatirāya about 1600 A.D. While in the service of the Vijayanagara king, Peda Yāchama gained enormous power and influence, and thereby came into conflict with Liṅga, the chief of Vēlūru, and his general Dāvula Pāpa, who attacked and besieged Uttaramallūru but were severely beaten back with

great losses.[1] Their rivalry came to a head during the war of succession after the death of the Vijayanagara rulers Veṅkaṭapatirāya and S'rīraṅga. The part played by Peda Yāchama on behalf of Rāmadēvarāya in this war of succession and his victories at Tōpūr and Pālemkōṭa against the usurper Gobbūri Jaggarāju and his allies, Etirāja and others, are well known.[2] It may be stated that it was as a result of his conquest of the Gobbūri chiefs, who were ruling the strip of territory on the east coast now comprising the Nellore district and parts of the Veṅkaṭagiri estates[3], that the Velugōḍu chief Peda Yācha came into possession of this territory which ultimately became the seat of his descendants, now the Rājas of Veṅkaṭagiri. It may not be out of place to quote here some verses found in a Mackenzie MS. (15. 4. 3, pp. 157-58) describing the achievements of Peda Yācha as this will serve to indicate the subsequent fortunes of his descendants.

సీ॥ ఉత్తరమల్లూారు నుద్దండవృత్తిగా
నాక్రమించిన విని యాగ్రహించి.
దావాలపాపభూధవుఁడు నల్వాదివేల
కాల్బలంబులు నశ్వగజసంఖ్యల
దామరకరచెన్నధాత్రీశుఁడాదిగా
గలబలముతోఁ వచ్చి కదిశినపుడు
మున్నాటకై జీతమునుగూడ నాల్గువేల్
భటులతోఁ నచ్చట బారు నడచి

1 Mackenzie MS. No. 15. 4. 3, (pp. 137 ff.) contains a very detailed and vivid account of these events.

2 *Vide*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Last days of Vijayanagar*, (Sardesai comm. Vol.).

3 *Vide*, Mackenzie MS. 15. 4. 2 for the *sanads* and inscriptions of the Gobbūru chiefs.

పరబలము ద్రుంచి చెన్నభూపాలుఁ బట్టి
తరిమి పాపక్షితీంద్రుమస్తకము దునిమి
వీర వెంకటరాయ లౌరాయనంగ
హితులరక్షించె వెలుగోటి యేచ ఘనుఁడు ॥

సీ ॥ ఇలరామదేవరాయలను పట్టముఁ గట్టి
బంధుమిత్ర సహాయపటిమ మెఱశి
మాటమాత్ర కొమారమాక రాజును దున్మి
చంగ్గాడు జగ్గవజీరుదరిమి
గొబ్బూరివారేలు కోటలు భూములు
సాధించ్చి చంజ్జిక్షితీంద్రు బారు
గెల్చాతనింబట్టిచేరి పాలెముకోట
చేరువ యతిరాజు బారదోలి
మఱియుగల శత్రువీరుల మట్టువెట్టి
వేలురికిఁ దూర్పు కృష్ణకావేరి నడుమ
వెలమనాఁడుగ నాఁడుఁ గావించినాఁడు
యేచ భూవిభుప్రాభవ మెంచదరమె ॥

॥ రామరాయనరేంద్రరఘునాథనాయక
ప్రాముఖ్యాకార్యకర్తలబలంబు
నిజసహోదరశింగ్గ నృపతిరాయపభూప
యయ్యపనాయకాద్యాత బలము
దామరకర చెన్న ధాత్రీశ చెరుకువెం
గళభూపబంధువర్గములబలము

పేరమాప్త కేతిరెడ్డి రఘునాథేంద్ర పావడ
కృష్ణనృపసుహృద్వరబలంబు
మెరశితనుఁ గొల్వ కొక్కరుసుపేటవద్ద
సమర మొనరించె గొబ్బూరి జగ్గవిభుని
దునిమి మధురేంద్ర చంజీశుదొరల దరిమె
యెంత ప్రబలుండు రంగయయేచఘనుఁడు ॥

The facts stated in these verses are :

(1) that Yācha defeated and killed Dāvāla Pāpa who was allied with Dāmarakara Chenna at Uttaramallūru and thereby saved his friends, evoking the admiration of Venkaṭarāya;

(2) that he installed Rāmadēvarāya on the throne ;

(3) that he conquered Mākarāju and Cheṅgāḍu Jagga ;

(4) that he captured the forts and lands of the Gobbūru chiefs ;

(5) that he defeated and captured S'eñji Kṛishṇakshitīndra ;

(6) that he defeated and drove away Gobbūru Etirāja at Pāḷemkōṭacheruvu ;

(7) that he captured the entire country lying to the east of Vēlūru between the Kṛishṇā and the Kāvērī and converted it into the country of the Velamas ; and

(8) that he defeated Gobbūru Jagga in battle at Kokkarusupēṭa and drove away the rulers of Madura and S'eñji, being aided in this exploit by the forces of the *Kāryakartas* of Rāmarāya and Raghunātha Nāyaka, by his relatives *(bandhuvargam)* Dāmarakara Chenna and Cheruku Veṅgaḷa, and by his friends Kēti, Raghunāthendra and Pāvaḍa Kṛishṇappa.

As a result of his victories Peda Yācha came into possession of a large piece of territory and probably wielded influence

over the principality of of Kāḷahasti, which was then held by Dāmarakara (Dāmarla) Chenna to whom he gave his sister, Akkamma, in marriage.

The Velugōḍu chiefs did not stay at Uttaramallūru for more than two generations as their rule at the place came to a sudden end in the time of the donor of the present grant, Baṅgāru Yāchama, as the result of a great tragedy which befell him.

Besides the present grant there are two more grants of this chief dated S'aka 1601 [1] and 1603 [2] found in the Veṅkaṭagiri region in which it is stated that the Veṅkaṭagiri-*sīma* of the Chandragiri-*rājya* was granted to Baṅgāru Yāchama as *amaranāyaṅkara* by Hazarat Alampana Qutb Shah of Golkoṇḍa, *i.e.*, the celebrated Abu'l Hasan *alias* Tana Shah who had as his ministers the famous Akkanna and Mādanna.

A brief account of his life may now be given.[3] Baṅgāru Yāchama, like his grandfather, Peda Yāchama, was also a great warrior and had several victories to his credit. Amongst his neighbours, the Maṭli chiefs of Chiṭṭivēli were the most powerful and against them he conducted a campaign. The Maṭli chief about this time was Appayarāju or Appaḷarāju, surnamed Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, son of Maṭli Anantarāju and Maṅgamma (daughter of Nandela Veṅkaṭarāmarāju). He succeeded his uncle, Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, who, out of regard for him, nominated him his successor setting aside his own son, Kumāra Ananta. Maṭli Appayarāju, out of gratitude to his uncle, Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, caused the poet Naḍiminṭi Veṅkaṭapati to compose the work *Abhishiktarāghavam* [4] and dedicate it to his memory. It was against this Appayarāju that Baṅgāru

[1] Mackenzie MS. 15.4.2, p. 218, No. 188

[2] Mackenzie MS. 15.4.2, p. 224, No. 192.

[3] The facts relating to his life are taken from the book *Family History of the Venkatagiri Rajas* (1922) by Alladi Jagannatha Sastri.

[4] Mack. MS. 14-2-36 : D. No. 2633.

Yāchama marched his troops under the orders of the Golkoṇḍa Nawab, Abdul Hasan, when Appayarāju entered Siddhavaṭṭamsīma and plundered Voṇṭimiṭṭa. Assisted by Dāmarla Veṅkaṭapati and his followers he set out towards Ṛāpūr. At Lakkireḍḍipalle he encountered the forces of Appaḷarāju and completely routed them. The depredations of Appaḷarāju were put down. The Nawab being pleased with the achievements of Baṅgāru Yāchama conferred on him the title of Rajah Bahadur and made him a *mansabdar* of 6000, bestowing upon him other honours and privileges.

The closing years of the reign of Baṅgāru Yāchama coincided with the attempts made by Aurangzeb Alamgir Padshah to establish his direct sway over the Deccan and the south.[1] He appointed Zulfikar Khan, son of his favourite Vizier, Asaf Khan Bahadur, as the Nawab of Arcot and sent him to the Deccan with a large army in order to restore peace and order in the south. But the latter neglected the duty entrusted to him upon which the displeased Emperor thought of appointing Baṅgāru Yācha as the next Nawab as the fame of this chief had already reached his ears. When Zulfikar Khan heard of this, he planned to murder Baṅgāru Yāchama and thus get rid of him. On the day of *Mahānavami*, 1693 A.D. Baṅgāru Yāchama was murdered at Uttaramallūru by Zulfikar Khan, and his wives committed *sati* leaving infant sons behind. With the death of Baṅgāru Yāchama in 1693 A.D. Uttaramallūru was abandoned, and Veṅkaṭagiri, which had already become a second capital, now became the headquarters of the Velugōṭi chiefs. The infant sons of Baṅgāru Yāchama were granted by Alamgir Padshah free *jāgir* of Veṅkaṭagiri-*sīma* and other

[1] Several *sanads* issued with the seal of Aurangzeb are found in the Venkatagiri and Udayagiri regions about this period bearing dates in S'aka 1613 (Mack. MS, 15. 4. 17, p. 7).

taluks.[1] Kumāra Yācha, the eldest son of Baṅgāru Yācha, was installed at Veṅkaṭagiri in 1695 A.D. and a grant[2] issued by him in that year (S'. 1617) Āshāḍha s'u. di. 5 establishes his accession to the throne.

DOCUMENT NO. 1 (2 leaves).

Folio 1a

(1) స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివాహన శకవర్షంబ్బులు
౧౬౦౩ అగు నేటి దుర్మతినామసంవత్సరం మాఖ బ౧౨లు
శ్రీమద్దక్షిణ కయిలాసస్తానవిశేష సా

(2) కార నిరాకార బ్రంహ్మ వశిష్ఠముని లూత వాతాశన
హస్తి హాటవిక భూదేవ నక్కీర కంన్నికాద్వయ యాద
వాది ముఖ్య ప్రమథగణ సాయుజ్య పదస్తానం

(3) బైన పూర్వగిరి పశ్చిమద్వార దక్షిణపీఠ వుత్తరవాహినిం
గల ఆలయమందు శిలాప్లక్ష వృక్షమూల నివాసం బైన
శ్రీజ్ఞానప్రసూనాంబ్బా సమేత శ్రీకాళహ

(4) స్తీశ్వర స్వామివారికి రేచర్ల గోత్రోద్భవులయ్ను వెలు
గోటి పెదయాచమనాయనింవారి పౌత్రులయ్ను కుమార
యాచమనాయనింవారి పుత్రులయ్ను బం

Folio 1b

(1) గ్గారు యాచమనాయనింవారు యజుశ్శాఖాధ్యాయుల
య్ను ఆపస్తంభ సూత్రోద్భవులయ్ను యీశ్వర గుర్కుల
వారి పౌత్రులయ్ను నయనాగుర్కులవారి పు

[1] Mackenzie MS. 15. 4. 2, p. 112, Sanad No. 97 ; vide, *History of the Venkatagiri Rajas* by A. Jagannatha Sastri, p. 67.
[2] Mackenzie MS. 15. 4. 2, p. 35, No. 33.

(2) తృటియ్యు సదాశివగుర్కులవారికి శ్రీస్వామివారికిగాను
వ్రాయించ్చి యిచ్చిన దానపత్రికె క్రమమెట్లంన్నను పంఅ
జరతు ఆలంమను సుబేదారు తొండమండలం ర్గాజ్యం వెం
కటగిరి మాకు నడిచేజాగీరు వెంకటగిరి శీమామూలంలో
(3) దరోబస్తు గ్రామాదులలో స్కలాయం ఖంగకి ౧౦౧౦
కుంచ్చెడులెక్కను మేరకట్టడి చేశ్నారంగన్కు యీ మేరల
వల్లవచ్చిన అయివజువల్ల శ్రీస్వామి వారికి
(4) అభిషేక నయవేద్య దీపారాధన సహస్రనామార్చన మా
తోటలో మకరసంక్రాంత్రి శివరాత్రి వుత్సవాల్కు
సదరుహి మేరల ధాన్యముంన్ను

Folio 2a

(1) యిరువైనాల్గు వరహాల రొఖముంన్ను నిష్కర్షచేశి నారం
గన్కు యీ మహాశివరాత్రి లింగోద్భవకాలమందు
సహిరణ్యోదక దా
(2) నధారా పూర్వ్వకముగా దత్తం చేస్తిమిగన్కు యీ ధర్మం
మాపుత్రపౌత్ర పారంపర్యం ఆచంద్రార్కం స్తాయిగా
నడిపించ్చగలవారం.
(3) మీ పుత్రపౌత్ర పారంపర్యం ఆచంద్రార్కం స్తాయిగా
అనుభవించ్కుంటూ పయ్ను వ్రాశ్ని. ప్రకారం శ్రీ స్వామి
వారికి నడిపిస్తు సుఖాన వుం
(4) డ్కనేది—శ్లో ॥ దానపాలనయోర్మధ్యే । దానాచ్ఛ్రే
యోనుపాలనం । దానాచ్స్వర్గ మవాప్నోతి పాలనా
దచ్యుతం పదం ॥ ఏకైక(వ)భగిని

Folio 2b

(1) లోకే । పరివేషామేవ భూభుజాం । నభోజ్యా నరకం యాంత్తు । యావచ్చంద్రదివాకరౌ ॥ అనే శాస్త్రమున్నది గన్కు పయ్ని వ్రాశ్ని

(2) ప్రకారం నడిపించ్చగల వారమని కరణం బాలయ చాత వ్రాయించి యిచ్చిన దత్తపత్రికె.

DOCUMENT NO. 2: 1739 (42?) A.D.

This document which is dated S'. 1661 (4?), Dundubhi[1], Āḍi 2, records the grant of a piece of land to the priest of the Kāḷahasti temple, Dharmas'iva Gurukkaḷ, son of Naina Gurukkaḷ and grandson of Sadās'iva Gurukkaḷ (the donee of Document No. 1) by Narrā Rāmabhadra Nāyaka, son of Narasimha and grandson of Vōbarāju Nāyaka. The donee, who is stated to have been a resident of Sadās'ivēs'vara Agrahāram founded by Kaṭikamallu S'iddu, was granted land measuring 11 *kuṇṭas* in the village of Velampāḍu.

The identity of the chief is not known. About this time the ruler of the region was the Velugōṭi chief Sarvajña Kumāra Yācha, son of Rāja Bahadur Baṅgāru Yācha (donor of Document No. 1).

DOCNMENT NO. 2 (1 leaf).

Folio 3a

(1) స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివాహనశక వర్షంబ్బులు ౧౬౬౪ అగు నేటి దుందుభినామసంవత్సరం ఆడిమాసం ౨ తేది యజుశ్శాఖాధ్యాయుల

(2) య్ను ఆపస్తంభ సూత్రులయ్ను భారద్వాజ గోత్రపావిత్ర లయ్ను సదాశివగురుక్కుల పవృత్రులయ్ను నైనాగురుక్కుల

[1] The S'aka and the Cyclic years do not tally.

పుత్రులయ్యిన్న ధర్మశివగుర్కులవారికి సర్రావోబరాజు
నాయ

(3) ని పౌత్రులయ్యిన్న నారసింహ్వానాయని పుత్రులయ్యిన్న రామ
భద్రనాయని వారు వ్రాయించి యిచ్చిన భూదాన ధర్మ
శాసన పత్రికె కటికమల్లు శిద్దు కట్టించ్చిన శ్రీ సదా
శివేశ్వరం

(4) అగ్రహారంలో కాపురం వున్నావుగన్ను మీ గ్రామాన్ను
మావాడవశైన వెలంపాటిగ్రామాన్ను అచ్చుకట్టు గుం.
౧౧ అక్షరాలా పదకొండు గుంటలున్ను త్రివాచక త్రి
కరణముగా

Folio 3b

(1) యిస్తిమి గన్ను మీపుత్రపౌత్ర పారంపర్యంగాను అనుభ
వించగలవారు మా పుత్రపౌత్ర పారంపర్యముగా ఆ
చంద్రార్కస్థాయిగా నడిపించగలవారము

(2) శ్లో॥ స్వదత్తాద్విగుణం పుణ్యం పరదత్తానుపాలనం।
పరదత్తాపహారేణ। స్వదత్తం నిష్ఫలం భవేత్ ॥ శ్రీరామా

DOCUMENT NO. 3: 1770 A.D.

This document which is dated Virōdhi, Panguni 2, refers to Mahārāja S'rī Dāmara Bahadur Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaniṅgāru and records that certain temple honours were awarded to the Dāmarla chief on the occasion of his visit to the temple of Kāḷahastīs'vara after his return from a sea-bath which he took on the day of a lunar eclipse. It is stated that while he was taking rest in a garden near the temple, Gorlapūḍi S'ēshayya, the *Amildār*, came to him and taking leave of the *Nagaripillakābōyis* (personal attendants of the chief) escorted the king to

the *maṇṭapa* of the shrine of goddess Jñānaprasūnāmbikā, where, after worship was offered to the goddess, the chief partook of the holy water (*tīrtha*) and *prasāda*. Thence he was carried in a palanquin accompanied by the *sthānattārs*, the priest Paras'urāma Gurukkaḷ, son of Dharmas'iva Gurukkaḷ, musicians and dancing girls, and taken back to the garden where he was again given *prasāda*, etc. After this, the priest and others returned to the temple in the same manner.

It is not clear for what reason the document was prepared and preserved. The object was probably to record the procedure that was adopted in honouring the Dāmarla chief to serve as a precedent for similar honours to his successors.

Although only the cyclic year Virōdhi is quoted as the date of the document, it is possible to state on the strength of other details found in the record that the date corresponds to 12th March, 1770 A.D. The priest Paras'urāma Gurukkaḷ figuring in this document is probably the son of Dharmas'iva Gurukkaḷ, the donee of Document No. 2 dated A.D. 1739. The lunar eclipse, on which occasion the chief took sea-bath, is probably the one that occurred on Wednesday 13th December, 1769, three months before the actual date when the document was drawn up.

The Dāmarla chief Veṅkaṭappa Bahadur (A.D. 1769-70) may be identified with Dāmarla Kumāra Venkaṭappa Nāyaḍu, son of Timma, who was descended from Ayya, the founder of Chennapaṭṇam. His date makes him the contemporary of Nawab Muhammad Ali (Walajah) of the Carnatic and he was probably identical with Damal Komara Venkaṭappa Nāyaḍu who slew in battle the brother of Nawab Muhammad Ali.[1] He may be also identical with Dāmarla Venkaṭa of A.D. 1782,

[1] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 23.

Zamindar of Kāḷahasti, who figures in a Fort St. George record.[1]

The Rājas of Kāḷahasti now represent the ancient line of the Dāmarla chiefs. A connected genealogy of these chiefs is found in the *Kaifiyat of Kāḷahasti* (Mackenzie MS. 17. 6. 15 Tamil pp. 157 ff.). Part of their genealogy is found in two Telugu literary works, *Bahuḷās'vacharitra* and *Ushāpariṇaya*, composed by two different members of the family, Veṅgaḷabhūpāla and Aṅkabhūpāla respectively. Several members of the family are mentioned in their succession order by Col. Mackenzie and quoted in Love's Vestiges, Vol. I, p. 23.[2] The Fort St. George consultations refer to several Dāmarla Venkaṭpatis.[3] A late member of the family, Dāmarla Veṅkaṭa of 1870 A.D., is known to us as the patron of the work *Jñānaprasūnāmbikas'atakam* by S'ishṭu Kṛishṇa S'āstri.

The following is the genealogy of the Dāmarla chiefs as far as can be made out with the aid of the above sources :

Vallabha Nāyaḍu
|
Timma Bhūpati
|
Amma Nāyaka
|
Mahapati Rao
|
S'rīpāda
|
Abba S'auri (Akka Bhūpati)
|
Dharma *m.* Veṅgalaṁbā, dau. of Velugōṭi Timma
|
Varada | Veṅgalēndra *m.* Lakshmamāmbā | Timma | Kōna

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.

[2] *Vide* also *History of Kālahasti* by Raghunatha Rao (1891).

[3] *Vestiges*, Vol. II, p. 20n., 216 and n.

(Veṅgalēndra) — Velugōṭi Yācha (18)

Dharma | Varada | Veṅgala or Veṅkaṭādri *m.* 1. Ayyamāmbā, 2. Gūruvamāmbā, 3. Kēsama | Timma | Veṅkaṭāmbā *m.* Velugōṭi Raṅga (19)

Children of Veṅkaṭāmbā and Velugōṭi Raṅga (19):

Kumara Raṅga | Peda Yācha (20) (Victor of Tōpūr, supporter of Rāmadēva). | Siṅga | Akkamma *m.* Dāmarla Chenna

Peda Yācha (20)
Kumāra Yācha (21)
(22, Baṅgāru Yāchama (c. 1680-93 A.D.) (Donor of Document No. 1)

Children of Veṅgala or Veṅkaṭādri:

(By 1) Chenna (defeated Liṅga of Vēlūru) *m.* 1. Kṛishṇāmba of the Kōsala family 2. Lingāmbā of the Kēkayarāya family 3. Timmāmbā (4. Veṅgama

(By 1) Kēs'ava

(By 2) Veṅgala (author of *Bahulās'vacharitra*)

(By 2) Varada

(By 3) Kṛishṇa

Children of Chenna:

By 1) Veṅkaṭapati (c. 1640-50 A.D) constructed Chennasagaram; granted first *kavul* to English re: site of Fort St. George; conquered k. of Señji; rebels and joins Mir Jumla.
son
Veṅkaṭāchalapati Nāyaka (c. 1703 A.D.) who visited Pitt of Madras.

(By 2) Ayya (founded Chennapaṭṇam)
Chennappa
Akkappa
Timma
Kumāra Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaḍu (c. 1745-1795 A.D.) (mentioned in Document 3) Contemporary and friend of Nawab Muhammad Ali (Walajah) of Arcot *m.* Veṅkammāl (daughter of Velugōṭi Sōmaya Nāyaka)
Timma (1795-1803 A.D.)

Children of Timma (1795-1803 A.D.):

Dāmarla Peda Veṅkaṭappa (1803-30) | China Veṅkaṭappa | Akkama *m.* Velugōṭi Baṅgāru Yācha

(By 3) Aṅka (author of *Ushāpariṇayam* - c. 1660-1700 A.D.).

(By 3) Timma

(By 4) China Veṅkaṭa

(Veṅkaṭāchalapati) | (Peda Veṅkaṭappa)

Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaka (c. 1724-1743 A.D.) who visited Elwick in 1724 A.D. and Benyon in 1743 A.D.

Timma (1830-32 A.D.)

Dāmarla Venkaṭapati (adopted son by widow of Timma) (1834-1881 A.D.) (patron of *Jñānaprasūnāmbikāśatakam*)

Kumāra Muddu Veṅkaṭappa (1881 A.D.) | 5 sons

The available family *praśastis* of the Dāmarla chiefs give them the following *birudas*.

1. Chaturthakula-sudhārṇava-sampūrṇachandra.
2. Inugāla-gōtra
3. Vālūri-puravarādhīśvara
4. Uttaradigbhāga-pūrvasimhāsanādhīśvara
5. Māhishmatī-purvavarādhīśvara
6. Karikāḷa-chōḷarājya-samuddhāraṇa
7. Kavērītira-Śrīraṅganāmadhēya-divya śrīpādapadmārādhaka
8. Rājendrachōḍa-rājyapratipāḷaka
9. Who obtained from Pratāparudra the birudas *Suvarṇatalāṭa*, *Ubhayaviñjāmara*, etc.
10. Kōrakaṇṭisiṁha.

It is clear from these *birudas* that they were originally subordinates of the Kākatīyas and like the Velugōḍu chiefs migrated to the south during the last days of Vijayanagara rule, and occupied Dāmal in Conjeevaram taluq. Their ancestral seat Vālūru, probably a place in the Telugu country, is not identified. During the last days of Vijayanagara rule in the time of Veṅkaṭapatirāya and Śrīraṅga (c. 1642 A.D.) they were very powerful, and the Vijayanagara kings conducted the affairs of state through their mediation and counsel, witness

transactions with the English on the East coast. They entered into marriage relations with the Velugōḍu chiefs of Uttaramallūru, as indicated in the genealogy above.

DOCUMENT NO. 3. (1 leaf)

Folio 4a

(1) 'విరోధి నామ సంవత్సరం పంగుణినెల రెండ్డో తేదీలు
మహారాజరాజేశ్రీ దామెరబహదరు వెంకటప్ప నాయ
నింగారు చంద్రగ్రహణానికి సముద్రస్నా

(2) నానికి పోయి స్నానంచేసుకొని తిరుగా వొచ్చి కాసా
తోటలో చేరినతరువాత మహారాజరాజేశ్రీ యెల్లన్నివారి
సముఖానకు గోర్ళ్ల

(3) పూడి శేషయ అనే అముల్దారుడు తీర్థ ప్రసాదాలుకు
సముఖాన మనిచేశి నగిరిపల్లికా బోయలను శెలవుతీసు
కొని దేవాలయానికి

(4) పిలుచుకొని వచ్చి బాలజ్ఞానాంబ్బ మంటపంవద్దవుంచి
మొదటికాలం నైవేద్య దీపారాధనలు అయిన తర్వాత
తీర్థ

Folio 4b

(1) ప్రసాదాలు . యెత్తించుకొని స్థానం ధర్మశివగుర్కులు
కొవ్వారుడు పరశురామ గుర్కులును సప్తముఖ స్థానం
వారిని మాళాగారిలును భోగంవాళ్లను మామూలు. దిట్ట
ప్రకారం పల్లికలోవుంచి పరశురాముగుర్కులును కూ
చోర్ఛ పెట్టుకొని

(౩) తోటకుపోయి దొరవారికి ప్రసాదాలు యిచ్చి శెలవు తీసు
కొని వొచ్చేటప్పుడు పల్లికలో కూచ్చుండే యింటికి
వొచ్చి

(4) నాము మర్యాదలు ప్రకారం జరిపించినాము.

DOCUMENT NO 4 : Pramadicha (Pramathi)

This document, which is a Telugu rendering of a Tamil original, is dated Pramādīcha, Alpis'i 11 and is incomplete. It appears to record a deed of agreement between the surviving members of the seven priestly families of the Kāḷahasti temple regarding the turns they had to observe in their duties in the temple and the settlement of their share in the proceeds of worship in the temple.

Of the seven priestly families, *viz.*, those of Īs'vara bhaṭlu, Vaḍugunātham bhaṭlu, Kodukula bhaṭlu, Tirukāḷahasti bhaṭlu, Kaṇṇāyira bhaṭlu, Panmāhēs'vara bhaṭlu, and Tiruchchidambara bhaṭlu, only one family survives at Kāḷahasti, that of Vaḍugunātham bhaṭlu. It is represented by Mr. Parasurama Gurukkal, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Kāḷahasti. The following genealogical table of the Vaḍugunātham bhaṭlu family, members of which figure in all the four documents, has been compiled by Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar M.A., L.T., with the aid of the information kindly supplied by Mr. Parasurama Gurukhal.

Īs'vara Bhaṭlu
(*Sthalapati* of the Vaḍugunātham Bhaṭlu family)
|
Naina
|
Sadās'iva
(known as Ulaganāthan Bhaṭlu,
donee of Document 1 - 1681 A.D.
|

Ayyavu (alias Naina)
(see Document No. 4)

Naina

Dharmas'iva (donee of Document 2 : 1739 A.D.)

Paras'urāma (Document 3) (no issue) 1770 A.D.

Ayyāvu (donee of Gundlaguṇṭa grant A.D. 1802).

Subbarāya — Dharmas'iva — Siddhaliṅga

Cheṅgalvarāya 1824 - donee of a small māniam 1820-75.

Subbarāya adopted. lived over 70 years (d. 1900) *m.* Annamma

Muttukumāra (d. 1941)

Paras'urāma

S'ēshamma — Dharmas'iva — Jñānamma — Subbarāya — Subbamma — Kumārasvami d. 1908 — Muttamma

S'eshamma

Subbarāya - married - Jñānamma

Svāminathan 1870-1911.

Paras'urāma Gurukkal (adopted) present age 34.

Ayyāsvāmi (no issue)

Subbaiya

Subbaiya (the donee of Guḍimallam plates 1790 A.D. Sādhāraṇa

Subbaiya (donee of Tikkavaram in 1796 A.D. Nala)

S'eshayya

Bhimayya

S'ēshayya (no issues) d. 1869 Guḍimallam resumed.

Pars'urāma (same as Paras'urāma given in adoption to Kumārasvāmi who died in 1908) — Cheṅgalvarāya — Krishṇamūrti — Jñānamma — Rājamma — Veṅkaṭēs'a — Sadās'iva

Has four children, one of whom is adopted to another family without male heir.

DOCUMENT NO. 4. (2 leaves)

Folio 5a

In margin (అరవంత్రోవున్న సమాఖ్యకు నకలుయిది)

(1) ప్రమాదీచనామ సంత్సరం అల్పిశి మాసం ౧౧ తే
దిలు కాళహాస్తి తిరుకోవిలస్తానికులు యీశ్వరభట్లు

కాశీపతి గురుకుల కొమారుడు శేషయనున్ను వడుగు
నాథం భ

(2) ట్లు సదాశివగురుకుల కొమారుడు అయ్యాగురుకులు పాలి
వారున్ను కొడుకుల భట్లు విశ్వనాథగురుకుల కొమా
రుడు చినముత్యాలు గురుకులు పాలివారుం

(3) న్ను తిరుకాళహస్తి భట్లు నాయం సదాసివగురుకుల కొమా
రుడు సదాసివగురుకులు పాలివారున్ను పడిమకణ్ణాయిర
భట్లు కాళహస్తిగురుకుల కొమారుడు

(4) పుల్లం భట్లులో పాలివారున్ను పన్మాహేశ్వర భట్లు కుళ్లం
కాళప్పకుమారుడు గురునాథుడులో పాలివారున్ను తిరుచి
తంబ్బర భట్లు ముత్తప్పకుమారుడు

(5) జ్ఞానప్పలో పాలివారున్ను వీరు అంధరున్ను నాయనారు
తిరుకాళహస్తి వుడయనాయనారు తిరుకోవిలస్వాస్థ్యం
సమాఖ్య జాబ్రువాసుకున్న వివరం

Folio 5b

(1) యిప్పుడు స్థళంలో అందరువుండి వారు వారు కలిగిన
స్వాస్థ్యం అనుభవిస్తున్నామే వృషభవాహన భట్లు సంతతి
వారు స్థళంలో లేక దక్షిణాదిని వున్నారె వారికి కలి

(2) గినపూజవ(రుస)స్థాన ప్రాప్తి భోగ్యంగా అయ్యావయ
అనుభవంగ్గా జ్ఞానప్పభోగ్యంస్తాన ప్రాప్తిపాలు 1 యింట్కి
గగ ర కాశీపతి గురుకుల వారిభోగ్యం వృషభట్లు పూ

(3). జవరుసదినాలు ౩ట్కి గగ౩ స్తాన ప్రాప్తిపాలు 1 యిట్కి
గగ ర కలవలపూడి లింగాలుకు తిరుమాళిజ్ఞానప్ప భోగ్యం
పూజవరుసదినాలు ౩ యిట్కి గగ౩ స్తానప్రాప్తిపాలు

(4) ౪కి గగ ౭ అంతు భోగ్యం యిరువై వరహాలుకు వడ్డి అను
భవిస్తున్నామే యిప్పుడు ఆస్వాస్త్యం స్థళంలోవుండే మనం
అధర్మమున్ను భోగ్యం విడుదల చేసుకొని స్తాన ప్రా
(5) ప్తి భోగ్యం పదహారు వరహాలున్ను యీశ్వరభట్లు వారి
పాలు ౪ యీ వడుగు నాధంభట్లు వారి పాలు ౪ వుభయం
పాలు ౧ కొడుకులభట్లు వారిపాలు ౧ తిరు
(6) కాళహస్తిభట్లు వారి పాలు ౧ పడమకణ్ణాయిరంభట్లు
వారిపాలు ౧ పన్మాహేశ్వరభట్లు వారిపాలు ౧ తిరుచిత్తం
బరభట్లు వారిపాలు ౧ యీ ఆరు

Folio 6a

(1) పాళ్లవారమున్ను భోగ్యం పదహారు వరహాలున్ను యిచ్చి
స్థానప్రాప్తి ఆరుపాళ్లను అనుభవించగల వారం పూజవరు
సదినాలు ౮కి భోగ్యం నాల్గువరహాలున్ను పూజ వరు
(2) సప్రకారం యీశ్వరభట్లు వారి దినాలు ౭ వడుగునాధం
భట్ల వారిదినాలు ౮ కొడుకుల భట్ల వారిదినాలు ౮ తిరు
కాళహస్తి భట్లవారి దినాలు ౮ యీ వరుసప్రకారం పూజ
(3) వరుస ధినాలమీాద నాలుగు వరహాలు యిచ్చి పూజ వరుస
దినాలు వంతున నాలుగుదినాలు అనుభవించ్చగలవారం
చెంద్రభట్లు మృతనష్టం పూజవరుస దినాలు భోగ్యా
నకు సాలు
(4) గు వరహాలు యిచ్చి మనము పూజవరుస దినాలువంతున
భోగ్యం విడుదలచేసుకొని నాలుగు దినాలున్ను పూజవరుస
దినాలువంతున అనుభవించగలవారం ప్రతిష్ఠసంప్రో

(5) క్షిణ ·వుత్సవాదులు ఆచార్యత్వం యీశ్వరభట్ల వారున్ను వడుగు నాధ భట్లు వారు చేశి చరిసఖాన అనుభవించగల వారు వృషభవాహనభట్లు వారు స్థళంలోకి క్షాపరం

(6) వస్తే వారిచాత భోగ్యం యిరవై వరహాలున్ను చెంద్రభట్లు పూజవరుస భోగ్యం విడుదలచేశి నాలుగు వరహాలలో వచ్చినరూకలు రాబట్టుకొని వారిపూజ వరుస దినాలు స్థా

Folio 6b

(1) న ప్రాప్తి వంతులో శ్రీవారసంన్నుధిలో వచ్చిన దక్షిణ కపూర్ణారాత్తి పూజాంశం స్తానాంశం వారుచెరి సఖముగా అ భవించుకొని వారిభాగస్థా (the document ends abruptly).

Note: The original orthography of the documents is retained in the reproduction.

THE WORKS OF VĀDI VĀGĪS'VARA

(*Mānamanohara and Nyāya Lakṣmī Vilāsa*)

BY DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

IN his Introduction to GOS edition of the Tarkasaṁgraha of Ānandajñāna, T.M. Tripathi briefly described in the midst of the authors cited by S'ārṅgadhara, the Vais'eṣika writer Vādi Vāgīs'vara, author of the Mānamanohara (Intro. p. xviii, GOS. III). Ānandānubhava, the Advaitin, severely handles Vādi Vāgīs'vara, referred to usually as Mānamanoharakāra, in his Padārthatattvanirṇaya and Nyāyaratnadīpāvali. Subsequent to Ānandānubhava, Citsukha and his commentator, Pratyaksvarūpa, make many references to the Mānamanoharakāra.[1]

Mr. Tripathi mentioned only one manuscript of the Mānamanohara, the one at the S'rīnāthaji's temple at Nāthadvāra. Recently Dr. C. Kunhan Raja told me that there was a manuscript of it in the State Library at Bikaner and on my expressing a desire to get a transcript, kindly secured one for examination.

The Mānamanohara is rather a short work. The MS. is complete. There, however, seem to be small gaps. It is a Vais'eṣika work dealing with the seven Padārthas, giving in

[1] See JOR, Madras, XIII, pp. 240-263, E. P. Radhakrishnan's collection of these references to Mānamanohara.

each of its seven sections a number of Anumānas in support of the Vais'eṣika categories and their definitions, as against their critics, the Mīmāmsakas and the Advaitins in the main. The Saugata is once or twice taken note of and towards the end, there is also a refutation of the Pradhāna of the Sāṁkhyas (p. 151, Dr. C. K. Raja's Transcript).

The only colophons in the work refer to the sections as marked by each Padārtha:

p. 58. निरूपितो द्रव्यपदार्थ एष नवप्रकारो मुदमातनोतु ।
नवात्मकस्य त्रिदशाधिपस्य त्रिलोकपूज्यत्रिपुरान्तकस्य ॥

इति मानमनोहरे द्रव्यपदार्थः ।

p. 121. इति वागीश्वरकृते मानमनोहरे गुणपदार्थः ।

p. 129. इति वागीश्वरकृते मानमनोहरे कर्मपदार्थः ।

p. 139. इति वागीश्वरकृते मानमनोहरे सामान्यपदार्थः ।

There seems to be a gap in the portion dealing with Vis'eṣa.

p. 144. इति समवायपदार्थः ।

p. 146. The portion dealing with Abhāva ends towards the end of this page, but the colophon is missing.

After this, Vāgīs'vara refutes the possibility of S'akti as a distinct Padārtha (शक्तिरपि पदार्थान्तरमस्ति चेत् ' etc. p. 146); p. 149 एतेन निशिष्टतापि निराकृता । p. 150 एतेन विषयविषयिभावोऽपि संबन्धो निरस्तः । p. 150 एवं सान्निध्यादयोऽपि निराकर्तव्याः ।

Then again, Sādṛs'ya as a Padārtha is refuted (p. 150—अस्तु.तर्हि सादृश्यं पदार्थान्तरमिति चेत्, न).

Then the Pradhāna of the Sāṁkhyas: p. 151 एवं प्रधानादयोऽपि निराकार्याः । The section closes on Pp. 154-5—इति न्यायेन न पदार्थान्तराणां संभवः ।

The last section of the work deals with Mokṣa according to the Vais'eṣika, and the Advaitic view is criticized here. The work comes to a close here on p. 157 : इति मानमनोहरः समाप्तः ।

In the earlier sections also, the categories proposed by others are refuted : p. 51, Under Dravya, Tamas as a distinct Dravya is refuted : ननु तमो नाम द्रव्यान्तरमस्ति, तदपि निरूपणीयमिति चेत्, न । Under the Guṇa Padārtha, in the section on Pramāṇas, additional Pramāṇas like Arthāpatti are refuted.

QUOTATIONS FROM MĀNAMANOHARA

From a cursory perusal of the manuscript, I have been able to verify in the work the existence of some of the passages quoted by other writers. Thus taking the quotations in the order in which Mr. E.P. Radhakrishnan has collected them (see JOR, Madras, XIII, pp. 240-262) :

1. The Anumāna quoted in the Sarvadars'ana saṁgraha 'अनित्यः शब्दः, इन्द्रियविशेषगुणत्वात् चक्षूरूपवत् (see JOR, XIII, p. 240) is found on p. 125 of the manuscript of the Mānamanohara.

2. In the portion dealing with Tamas, the Mānamanohara quotes 'Nātha :' ननु तमो नाम द्रव्यान्तरमस्ति, तदपि निरूपणीयमिति चेत्, न । 'प्रमाणाभावात । 'नीलं तमः' इति प्रतीतिः प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न । नीलबुद्धयसिद्धेः । 'उक्तं च नाथेनापि 'अप्रतीत (तौ) चैव प्रतीतिभ्रमौ (भ्रमो) द (ऽयं ?) मन्दलनाम' इति । कथं तर्हि नीलपदप्रयोग इति चेत्, सिताभावे उपचारात् । असितं नीलमिति लौकिकप्रयोगः । Pp. 51-52, M.M.

This passage has been quoted by Pratyaksvarūpa in his Nayanaprasādinī (p. 29) on the Citsukhī (see JOR, XIII, p. 242 where Mr. E. P. Radhakrishnan has identified the 'Nātha' as S'ālikanātha).

3. Nayanaprasādinī, p. 18 (JOR, XIII, p. 244): The Anumāna of Mānamanoharakāra 'ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षवेद्यं, वस्तुत्वाद्', घटवत्' can be traced to p. 81 of the manuscript of the Mānamanohara; the text is not free from gaps here in the manuscript.

4. Nay. Pra. p. 21 (JOR, XIII, p. 245): the Anumāna 'विवादाध्यासितं बोधाधारजन्यम् etc.' can be found on pp. 28-29 of the manuscript of Mānamanohara.

5. Citsukhī, p. 22. (JOR, XIII, p. 245): 'न हि द्रष्टु: दृष्टे: विपरिलोपो विद्यते etc.' The passage is on pp. 33-34 of the manuscript of the Mānamanohara.

6. 'ज्ञानशब्दश्च ज्ञायतेऽस्मिन्निति अधिकरणवचन:' quoted in the Nay. Pra. p. 24, (JOR, XIII, p. 246) is on p. 42 of the manuscript of Mānamanohara.

7. Nay. Pra. p. 169 (JOR, XIII, Pp. 253-4): 'न च भेदानवस्था बाधिका . . . . न च अनिर्वचनीयत्वं भेदस्य, तत्र प्रमाणाभावात् ।' This is to be found in the manuscript of the Mānamanohara on pp. 35-36. There are slight differences in the words as they occur in the manuscript of the Mānamanohara; as for instance, compare the lines

सोऽयं पिण्याकयाचनार्थं गतस्य पिशाचिन: तैलदातृत्वाभ्युपगम इव निर्मूल: । MS. of M.M.

सोऽयं पिण्याकयाचनार्थं गतस्य पाचिन: खारिकातैलदातृत्वाभ्युपगम इव ।
as quoted in the Nay. Pra.

QUOTATIONS IN MĀNAMANOHARA

There are only a few names quoted in the Mānamanohara:

p. 4. Bauddha.

p. 27. Bhāṣyakāra, also on pp. 102.

p. 27, Vyomas'iva.
p. 45. Vārttikakāramis'ra (two Anuṣṭubhs from Kumārila's S'lokavārttika, Citrākṣepavāḍa, S'ls. 40, 41).
p. 51. Nātha (S'ālikanātha).
p. 80. Prabhākara.
p. 98. Pras'astapāda.
p. 148. Prābhākaras and Bhāṭṭas.

Personal Details about Vādi Vāgīs'vara

Like all classic Naiyāyikas and Vais'eṣikas, Vādi Vāgīs'vara is also a staunch S'aiva. This could be seen from the verse at the end of the Dravya section of the Mānamanohara quoted above. The s'loka at the end of the work also shows his S'aiva faith :

नमस्त्रिपथगाक्रान्तजटाजूटाय शंभवे ।
नमस्ते जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिसंभवध्यायिने(?) ॥[1]

Besides, we also know from the work that he was the son of Vāgīs'varācārya. We find in the beginning of the work :

वागीश्वराचार्यसुतेन वादिवागीश्वरेण क्रियते गभी(रः) ।
कन्नुगर्जत्प्रतिवादिगर्वप्रशान्तये मानमनोहरोऽयम् ॥

p. 1 of the manuscript of M.M.

Both father and son seem to have been known only by their title, and that an identical one.

Probable Date of Vādi Vāgīs'vara

As has been pointed out by Mr. E. P. Radhakrishnan, we have, for the present, to content ourselves with the dates of

[1] Ānandānubhava's dig at him as a 'Vāmamatānusārin' may refer to his Pās'upata faith.

S'ālikanātha and Ānandānubhava as the now known limits of the date of Vādi Vāgīs'vara, C. 750 and C. 1100 A.D.

Nyāya Lakṣmī Vilāsa, another Work of Vādi Vāgīs'vara

Meagre though the references to other works are in the Mānamanohara, they are yet valuable in two cases for informing us about another work of Vādi Vāgīs'vara, a work of a similar nature, but perhaps of larger extent, on Nyāya, called the Nyāyalakṣmīvilāsa.

1. Pp. 49-50 मनसः सर्वगतत्वाभ्युपगमे कालातिरिक्तत्वस्य साधयितुमशक्यत्वेन धार्मिक(धर्मि)ग्राहकप्रमाणविरोधाश्रयासिद्धिसमाक्रान्तत्वादिति न्यायलक्ष्मीविलासे विस्तृतमस्माभिः ।

p. 114 :—स्मर्यमाणेऽपि देवकुले देवदत्ताभावसंविदोऽभ्युपगमात् । विस्तृतं न्यायलक्ष्मीविलास इत्युपरम्यते ।

No manuscript of this Nyāyalakṣmīvilāsa has yet been known, nor does this seem to be mentioned in any other work.

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

THE ṢAṬPAÑCĀS'IKĀ

A S'ilpas'āstra Manual

BY K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

THIS short manual of *S'ilpas'āstra* is here reconstructed from a single palm-leaf MS. written in Malayalam script and deposited with the shelf-number 19. D. 10 in the Adyar Library. A second copy of the work has yet to be discovered. The *codex unicum* is old, but is in good condition. It contains a commentary also in the Malayalam language. The quotations contained in the commentary are given in footnotes. The work really consists of 58 verses. But in giving it the title Ṣaṭpañcās'ikā or Ṣaṭpañcās'ikā-saṃgraha, the author seems to have excluded the first verse which is merely an invocation and the last one which summarizes the essentials of *S'ilpas'āstra* dealt with here. The number 56 is adopted in imitation of the number of the verses of the famous astrological work, the *Ṣaṭpañcās'ikā* of *Pṛthuyas'as*, son of the great astronomer *Varāhamihira*. As to the identity of the author, there is no clue except some circumstantial evidence which enables us to surmise that he was a *S'ilpin* of Malabar where *S'ilpa-s'āstra* is even today a living science, its rules being complied with in detail in the construction of houses and temples. The work deals only with the Manuṣyālaya and is mostly or perhaps wholly (except the first and the last verses which evidently belong to the compiler) a compilation from works which are popular in Malabar. There are verses here from the Tantrasamuccaya (1426 A.D.) and the S'ilparatna (16th century). This is therefore later than the 16th century. The topics dealt with here are the

same as those treated of in such works as the *Tantrasamuccaya*, the S'ilparatna, etc. The consideration that this is the only known handy manual of its kind giving all the essentials of *S'ilpas'āstra* in a brief compass of 56 verses to be easily memorized by the *S'ilpin*, has prompted me to make it available now to students of Indian architecture in particular and to students of Sanskrit literature in general.

षट्पञ्चाशिका

[1]प्रणम्य विश्वस्थपतिं पितामहं निसर्गसिद्धाखिलशिल्पनैपुणम् ।
मया विविच्यागमसारमीर्यते समासतो मानववास्तुलक्षणम् ॥ १ ॥

गोमत्यैः फलपुष्पदुग्धतरुभिश्चाढ्या समा प्राक्प्लवा
  स्निग्धा धीररवा प्रदक्षिणजलोपेताशुबीजोद्गमा ।
सा प्रोक्ता बहुपांसुरक्षयजला तुल्या च शीतोष्णयोः
  श्रेष्ठा भूरधमा समुक्तविपरीता मिश्रिता मध्यमा ॥ २ ॥

वृत्तार्धेन्दुनिभा त्रिपञ्चरसकोणा शृङ्गशूर्पाकृति-
  र्मत्स्यानेकपकूर्मपृष्ठकपिलावक्त्रोपमा मेदिनी ।
भस्माङ्गारतुषास्थिकेशचितिवल्मीकादिभिः संयुता
  वर्ज्या मध्यनता सगर्भकुहरा विस्रा विदिक्स्थापि च ॥ ३ ॥

विप्रादिक्रमतः कुशेषुनवदूर्वाकाशयुक्ता भुव-
  स्तुल्यातानवितानसिन्धुररसाज्यांशाधिदीर्घा अपि ।
श्वेतापाटलपीतमेचकरुचश्चाज्यास्रगन्नासवा-
  मोदाः स्वादुकषायतिक्तकटुकास्वादान्विताश्च स्मृताः ॥ ४ ॥

संकीर्णरूपा वसुधात्र वर्णैर्गन्धै रसैश्चाखिलवर्जनीया ।
एनामनालक्षितवर्णचिह्नां नक्तं परीक्षेत निमित्ततश्च ॥ ५ ॥

[1] At the beginning of the MS. there is: षट्पञ्चाशिकासंग्रहः । हरिः श्रीगणपतये नमः । अविघ्नमस्तु ॥ The colophon at the end omits 'saṃgraha.'

क्ष्मां खात्वामघटं निधाय भृतधान्यं वर्धमानं मुखे
कृत्वासिच्य घृतं निशासु सितरक्तापीतकृष्णास्तथा ।
विप्रादिक्रमतः प्रदीप्य विधिवन्नीते मुहूर्ते ज्वले-
द्वर्ती यस्य धरास्य तासु सकलास्विद्धासु सर्वोचिता ॥ ६ ॥
अब्धारादिसमीकृते क्षितितले संस्थाप्य शङ्कुं समं
तन्मूलाहितसूत्रसंभ्रमणतः संलिख्य वृत्तं भुवि ।
प्रत्यक्प्रागपि वृत्तवर्तिनि कृतच्छायाग्रके व्रण्मुखं
सूत्रं न्यस्य सुसाधयेद्धरिजलेशाशे ततश्चेतरे ॥ ७ ॥
बिन्दोः पूर्वपराक्रान्त्योश्छायाकर्णाङ्गुलाहतात् ।
लम्बकाप्तं पूर्वबिन्दोर्नीत्वा कार्यो ऽत्र सायनात् ॥ ८ ॥
साक्षे शङ्कुमिनाङ्गुलं समतले कृत्वा प्रथक्कालज-
च्छायाग्रारचितत्रिबिन्दुपरिवृत्त्योत्पाद्य मत्स्यद्वयम् ।
तत्सौषुम्नसिरोत्थसूत्रयुगयोगाच्छङ्कुमूलान्तिमं
सूत्रं न्यस्य सुसाधयेद्यमधनेशाशे ततश्चेतरे ॥ ९ ॥
सूत्रे प्रागुदगग्रके क्षितितले कृत्वा चतुःखण्डिते
खण्डे कल्पयतु द्विजादिवसतिं शार्वे ऽथवा नैर्ऋते ।
खण्डे ऽस्मिन्वितितिर्भवेद्यदि पुनः श्रुत्यंशिते ब्रह्मसू-
त्राद्यंशे शुभवास्तुवीथिपदकस्याद्यं पुनश्चोन्नयेत् ॥ १० ॥
नन्दद्वन्द्वपुटेन वावृतितया बाह्यादिमध्यान्तिमं
वीथ्यः स्युः परितः पिशाचदिविषद्वित्ताधिभूदण्डिनाम् ।
नागाम्ब्वग्निविनायकद्रुहिणनाम्नां चासु निन्द्याः स्मृताः
पैशाचान्यहिदण्डिनां गृहविधौ वीथ्यश्चतुर्दिक्ष्वपि ॥ ११ ॥
गोवह्निप्रेतभूताम्बुनागेभधनसंज्ञिताः ।
वीथ्यः प्रागादिनीचत्वात्क्रमाद्वास्तोः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ १२ ॥
अग्निकोणादिकाः पञ्च सामान्येन शुभाः स्मृताः ।
गजादिवीथ्यो यास्तिस्रः शुभास्तदधिवासिनाम् ॥ १३ ॥

मध्ये चावरणद्वये शतपदेष्वष्टाश्वियुग्मैककै-
रेकाशीतिपदैः पदैर्नवरसाक्षिद्वन्द्वचन्द्रैरपि ।
क्षेत्रे ऽष्टाष्टपदैर्नवाब्धिदलयुग्मैरर्धचन्द्राश्विभि-
र्वास्त्वङ्गस्थसुपर्वणां पदविधिस्त्रेधा त्रिपञ्चाशतः ॥ १४ ॥
ईशाद्यं बहिरावृतिस्थपदकेष्वीशानपर्जन्यका-
वैन्द्रीन्द्रौ रविसत्यकौ भृशखहव्यादस्तथा पूषणः ।
भूयो वै वितथो गृहक्षतयमौ गन्धर्वभृङ्गौ मृग-
श्चैवं स्यान्निर्ऋतिस्तु पश्चिमपदे दौवारिको ऽपि क्रमात् ॥ १५ ॥
सुग्रीवपुष्पदन्तवरुणासुरशोषरोगाश्च वायुश्च ।
नागो ऽथ मुख्यभल्लाटेन्द्रर्गळा दित्युदतीति बाह्यावृतौ स्युः ॥ १६ ॥
ईशाद्यापापवत्सार्यकसवितृकसावित्रसंज्ञा विवस्वान् ।
इन्द्राख्यश्चेन्द्रजिन्मित्रकशिवशिवजिद्भूभृतो ऽन्तर्वृतौ स्युः ॥ १७ ॥
ब्रह्मा मध्यचतुष्पदे ऽथ शर्वसहितः स्कन्दो ऽर्यमा जम्भकः
प्रागादौ पिलिपिञ्छकश्च चरकीशादौ विदार्याह्वया ।
भूयः पूतनिका च पापपदपूर्वा राक्षसी बाह्यत-
श्चैते ऽष्टावपदस्थिताश्च परितो देवग्रहास्तद्बहिः ॥ १८ ॥
नाड्यः प्रागुदगग्रगा दश दशैकाशीतिकोष्ठे शिवा-
ग्न्यग्राः पञ्च पृथङ्नवोर्मिगुणकोष्ठस्थास्तथा रज्जवः ।
मर्माण्यष्टरसाशुगाब्धिगुणसंख्यातैरकोष्ठस्थितै-
स्सूत्रैर्योगसमुद्भवानि तु शतं वर्ज्यानि कुड्यादिषु ॥ १९ ॥
[2]प्रागादिप्लवभास्करांशदलमात्रं मर्म सूत्रस्थितै-
र्नीत्वा विन्यसनेन मर्मपरिपीडां स्तम्भकुड्यादिषु ।

[1] The text reads मुख्यु and the commentary मुख. But cf. S'ilparatna.6. 2. 8. (Trivandrum Edition, 1922). This last has फल्लाट instead of भल्लाट (See Adhyāya 9).

[2] The MS. reads प्रागोदक्प्लव. This is incorrect. I have therefore altered it into प्रागादि ।

वास्तुन्यत्र निपीडिते महिषसिंहानेकपानां शिरो
हैमं कूर्मवराहयोश्च निखनेत्तच्छान्तये शान्तिकृत् ॥ २० ॥
[1]क्षेत्रेऽष्टादशसंख्यखण्डरचिते विज्ञाय वीथिस्थितिं
तत्रैवाथ पुटद्वयैक्यकरणाज्ज्ञात्वा च वास्तुस्थितिम् ।
स्थाने तत्र नृणामनुत्तमगुणे दुर्वीथिमर्मोनिते
कुर्याद्ग्राम नृमात्रकाष्ठनवदिक्तालश्च दण्डो भवेत् ॥ २१ ॥
एकं स्याद्यदि दक्षिणं गृहमुभे चेत्तस्य पाश्चात्यकं
तत्सौम्यं च गृहत्रिके गृहचतुष्कं प्राच्यमेतानि च ।
प्राच्यां केतुजमेणराजजमिदं चापद्यवाच्यामथो-
दीच्यां ते गजजं च तानि वृषभं चाहुः प्रतीच्यां गृहम् ॥ २२ ॥
[2]षड्ढस्तादिकवंशमाननिचये ऽष्टघ्ने सदिक्संख्यके
त्र्यंशीकृत्य तदेककेन गृहनाहे कल्पिते ऽर्धीकृते ।
वेदघ्ने रविविश्ववासवविकारात्यष्टिसाष्टादशा-
शाद्द्वन्द्वेध्महृते फलेन विततिस्तन्न्यूननाहाततिः ॥ २३ ॥
[3]इष्टातानवितानमाननिचये त्रिघ्ने ऽष्टभिर्भाजिते
शेषो योनिरिह व्ययो मुनियुजाथायो ऽष्टनिघ्ने ऽरुणैः ।

[1] The commentary quotes the following verses.

यवोदरैरष्टसंख्यैरङ्गुलं तैस्त्रिभिः पुनः ।
मुष्टिस्तद्द्वितयं तालं पदं स्यादङ्गुलाष्टकम् ॥
चतुर्विंशाङ्गुलैर्हस्तो वितस्तिर्द्वादशाङ्गुलः ।
दण्डः करचतुष्कं स्याद्रज्जुर्दण्डाष्टकं स्मृतम् ॥

[2] The commentary refers to a different view for which it quotes the following.

पर्यन्ततोऽर्धस्वचतुर्थहीने वस्वादिदन्तावधिकैर्विभक्ते ।
यथांशकस्तेन चतुर्गुणेन विस्तारमानं विदधीत धीमान् ॥

[3] The commentary quotes the following.

नाडिकार्धद्वयं गच्छेदङ्गुलस्य तिथावपि ।
एवं चतुर्विंशतिभिः षष्टिनाड्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

ऋक्षैं ऋक्षमवतिरत्र तु वयो ज्ञेयं तिथिस्त्रिंशता
वारो भूमिधरैर्निधिप्रगुणिते[1] धर्माहृते वा व्ययः ॥ २४ ॥
प्रागाद्यान्ध्वजधूमसिंहसरमागोगर्दभेभद्विका-[2]
न्योनीनोजसमान्शुभाशुभकृतो ऽथो बाल्यकौमारके ।
भूयो यौवनवार्धके च निधनं चाहुर्वयांस्यन्तिमं
नेष्टं ज्ञेयमिहर्क्षवारतिथियोगाद्यं बुधैर्लोकतः ॥ २५ ॥
[3]अष्टाविंशतिधा कृते गृहविताने मित्रवृत्रारिभि-
श्चेध्मांशैरखिलांशतश्च युतविस्तृत्या गृहाभ्युच्छ्रयः ।
स्तम्भो ऽष्टांशततः करद्वयमितो ऽब्ध्याद्यङ्गुलैर्वर्धित-
श्चाधिष्ठानमतो ऽर्धतो ऽत्र रसभागादिक्षयश्च क्वचित् ॥ २६ ॥

[1] The MS. reads प्रगुणितैः ।

[2] The MS. wrongly reads गर्दभेभः पिकात् । The commentary quotes :

आयाधिक्यं व्ययतः संपाद्यं सर्वथान्यथापत्तिः ।
नक्षत्रादिशुभत्वं ज्योतिश्शास्त्रादितः सुविज्ञेयम् ॥

[3] Quotations in the commentary :

विस्तारेण समं पादमानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।
विस्तारस्य चतुर्थांशयुतं वा हीनमेव वा ॥
षट्सप्ताष्टाङ्कदिग्भागैर्युतं वा वियुतं तु वा ।
सपादत्रिकहस्तं तु सर्वेषामपि शोभनम् ।
रसाद्यष्टाङ्कदिग्भागैः पादमानात्प्रकल्पयेत ।
अधिष्ठानं तु तत्त्र्यंशादधिकं त्वपि कुत्रचित् ॥
अधिष्ठानं द्विधा दृष्टं मञ्चकं गळमञ्चकम् ।
अधिष्ठानस्य मानेन द्वादशांशं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
करोतु पादुकं द्वाभ्यां रसांशैर्जगतीं ततः ।
गळं प्रतिं पृथग्द्वाभ्यामिति स्याद्गळमञ्चकम् ॥
अथवा पादुकं द्वाभ्यां सप्तभिर्जगतीं ततः ।
पावकांशैः प्रतिं कुर्यान्मञ्चकं नाम तत्स्मृतम् ॥
विज्ञेयः पादुकस्यात्र स्वत्रिपादेन निर्गमः ।
गळात्प्रतिजगत्योस्तु गळतुर्यांशनिर्गमः ॥

मासूरेंऽशैर्दिनेशांशिनि सति जगतीकैरवे श्रुत्युपायै-
स्तच्छिष्टैः पट्टिकामन्तरिमपि रचयेद्वाजनं च प्रतिं च ।
प्रत्युत्पन्नक्रमाख्ये क्रम इति कथितः पट्टिकान्तं तथातः
खण्डान्सार्धैकतो वाजनमपि सदलैकांशतः पादबन्धे ॥ २७ ॥
[1]यावत्स्वोत्सेधमानं गमयतु जगतीं बाह्यतो मानसूत्रा-
त्तत्तुल्यं कैरवं चोच्छ्रयसमचरणोनार्धपादांशकं च ।
शिष्टं तत्पट्टिकाब्जादिकमपि गमयेन्मानसूत्रात्समन्ता-
त्तत्च्छोभानुरूपं गमयतु जगतीसूत्रतः पादुकं च ॥ २८ ॥
गेहे त्रिदोर्वर्गभवे द्विदोर्मितान् स्तम्भांस्ततोऽब्ध्यङ्गुलवर्धितान् क्रमात् ।
चतुष्करायुत्तरवर्गजेषु तान्करोत्वधिष्ठानमतोऽर्धसंमितम् ॥ २९ ॥
भक्ते प्रत्युत्तरान्तर्गतचरणसमुन्मानकेऽष्टाङ्कदिग्भि-
स्तेष्वेकांशात्तमूलप्रतितिदुरगांशादिहीनाग्रतानान् ।
दारुस्तम्भांस्तदर्हे विहिततितिदलाग्न्यब्धिभागोनतानान्
कुड्यस्तम्भांश्च कुडये रचयतु चरणाग्रप्रतानोऽत्र दण्डः ॥ ३० ॥
[2]कार्याः स्युश्चरणा युगाष्टनृपकोणाः सर्वतो वर्तुला
विस्तारत्रिगुणोपरित्रिगुणविस्तारोन्मिताष्टाश्रकाः ।

प्रतेः पादुकतुल्यः स्याद्दलहीने तु निर्गमः ।
अधिष्ठानमिति प्रोक्तं लघुमात्रेण मन्दिरे ॥
वास्त्वाधारसमुच्छ्रये प्रकृतिभक्ते वा त्रिभिः पादुकं
छन्दोभिर्जगतीं रसैः कुमुदकं चैकेन तत्पट्टिकाम् ।
भागाभ्यां गळपादकान्त्रिरचयेदर्धांशतः पट्टिकां
क्षुद्रां सार्धधरांशकेन महतीं स्वांशोल्लसद्वाजनाम् ॥

[1] The Triv. ed. of the Tantrasamuccaya (2. 16) reads यावत्स्वायोच्चमानम् ।

[2] The commentary quotes :

स्तम्भमूलस्य कर्णेन तुर्यश्रमपि कल्पयेत् ।
स्तम्भमूलस्यार्धघनां स्तम्भमूलाकृतिं तथा ॥

मूलोद्भावितकण्ठसूत्रचतुरश्रोर्ध्वाङ्गवृत्ताः पुनः
शुण्डोद्भेदविचित्रवृत्तरुचिरा वाराब्धगेहोचिताः ॥ ३१ ॥
पादव्यासततं ततो दलघनोद्यत्पट्टिकां वोत्तरं
चूळिं वाङ्घ्रिघनां तदर्धविततां स्थूणोपरि स्थापयेत् ।
कार्यास्तत्र लुपाश्शरादिनवनेत्रांशितेऽङ्घ्र्युच्छ्रये
द्वित्र्यम्भोधिधरांशतो विहितलम्बाः स्वाग्रधान्याचिताः ॥ ३२ ॥
खण्डोत्तरं चरणविस्तृतितुल्यविस्तारोत्सेधमुत्तममतश्चरणोनतीव्रा ।
पत्रोत्तरं दलविहीनघनं कनिष्ठं रूपोत्तरं घनतती विपरीततो वा ॥ ३३ ॥
उत्सेधे विशिखांशिते द्वितयतो रूपोत्तरे वाजनं
षड्भक्तेऽल्पमिलांशतो द्वितयतो वा स्यान्महावाजनम् ।
एतन्निर्गमनं निजांशविहितं न्यस्येदुपर्युत्तर-
स्यैतत्तीव्रसमुच्छ्रयोच्छ्रयदलांशव्याततां पट्टिकाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
कुर्यादुत्तरपट्टितोऽखिललुपाः कूटप्रविष्टप्रकाः
स्वस्वाशाहितकर्णसूत्रकमिता मध्यादिकर्णावधि ।
स्तम्भोच्चे शरशैलनन्दनयनैर्भक्ते चतुर्धोत्तरा-
त्तासां स्यादवलम्बनं नयनवह्न्यब्ध्युर्वरांशैः क्रमात् ॥ ३५ ॥
गेहव्यासगजांशकुड्यमिहिरांशेष्वश्वबाणांशकान्
कृत्वान्तश्च बहिश्च कल्पितसिराविन्यस्तयोगान्यथ ।
द्वाराण्यङ्गणगेहमध्यसिरयोर्मध्यस्थमध्यान्यथा
दध्यादङ्गुलकल्पितागमवयोयोनीनि पूर्वादितः ॥ ३६ ॥
कुर्यात्सर्वसुरेषुशैलवसुनन्दाशांशितेऽङ्घ्र्युच्छ्रये
द्वारोत्सेधमिहैकभागरहितं विस्तीर्णमात्मार्धतः ।

अधिष्ठानोपरिष्टात्तु प्रक्षिपेत्पादसंधिताम् ।
पादाग्रस्य त्रिभागैकविस्तीर्णाग्रशिखा भवेत् ॥
बोधिकां निक्षिपेत्तत्र त्रिचतुष्पञ्चदण्डकैः ।
संमितामङ्घ्रिमध्यस्थप्रमाणविततां तथा ॥
घनामुत्तरवत्तत्र स्तम्भाग्रशिखयाचिताम् ।

योगौ स्तम्भसमाधिपाददलविस्तीर्णौ स्फुरद्वाजनौ
विस्तारार्धघनौ भुवङ्गमपतङ्गाढ्यौ च मूलाग्रयोः ॥ ३७ ॥
द्वारोत्सेधनियुक्तशेषचरणोत्सेधे शरांशीकृते
द्व्यंशेनाधरपट्टिकां मितघनां सार्धेन वाङ्कांशिते ।
हीनां वाजनकेन योगविततां शिष्टांशतः पट्टिका-
मूर्ध्वस्थामथ मङ्गलाढ्यफलकां युक्त्योर्ध्वपट्टयूर्ध्वतः ॥ ३८ ॥
दण्डाभ्यङ्गमतङ्गजांशबहलं तावद्युतद्वार्दल-
व्यासं मूलशिखायुतं दृढतरं कार्यं कवाटद्वयम् ।
कार्या वामकवाटरोपितपराग्भागार्धतीव्रा तत-
स्तद्द्विघ्नप्रतता च सूत्रफलका सूद्यत्स्तनाद्युज्ज्वला ॥ ३९ ॥
[1]आशाहर्पतिसूत्रभेदिनि गृहे षष्ठेऽथवा सप्तमे
सूत्रे द्वारमथापरं वितनुयाच्छालासु सव्यार्धके ।
सिंहोक्षद्विपकेतुयोनिविहितं चाग्न्यादिकोणालयं
मिश्रे दक्षिणपश्चिमे पुनरुदक्प्राच्ये च गेहे मिथः ॥ ४० ॥
शालाश्चेन्मुखजन्मनामिह चतस्रोऽन्योन्यभिन्ना दिशा-
स्वन्तस्थध्वजयोनिकाङ्गणसिरानीतस्वमध्याःक्रमात् ।
याम्याद्या नवशैलबाणगुणसंख्यानैः परीत्याङ्गुलै-
रन्योन्याकलितैकयोनिकचतुश्शालं गृहं भूभुजाम् ॥ ४१ ॥
पर्यन्तस्य जमादधीत चतुरश्रं मध्यतश्चाङ्गणं
तत्पार्श्वे व्यतिपत्रमानमपरं चाभ्यन्तरं केतनम् ।
तत्तुर्यश्रयुजोत्थकोणचतुरश्रेषूत्तरान्तध्वजं
युक्त्या तूत्तरविस्तृतिं च जनयेत्तुर्यश्रशालाविधौ ॥ ४२ ॥
मानाद्वाह्यान्निजेष्टाद्रहयतु मितिमाभ्यन्तरीं शेषमाना-
त्कोणाभ्यश्रोदरोद्यद्ध्वजमपि शितधीरष्टनिघ्नं विजह्यात् ।

[1] The commentary quotes:

तक्षे प्रविष्टे तु गृहं बन्धोरप्यशुचिर्भवेत् ।
तस्मादन्यगृहे वासं मोचयेत्तु कदाचन ॥

तच्छेषादुत्तराणामपि जनयतु विष्कम्भमष्टयंशतोमू-
न्यापर्यन्तायतान्याकलयतु चतुर्दिक्षु बाह्यान्तराणि ॥ ४३ ॥
कृत्वा बाह्यान्तरमितिमिमामात्तक्लप्तां ततोऽस्यां
दिक्कोणोद्यद्गृहपतिमितिं योनिभेदोपपन्नाम् ।
कुर्याद्युक्त्या मितिषु कुशलः सा तु तुर्यश्रशाला
प्राग्वन्मध्येऽङ्गणविलसिता स्यात्पुनर्भिन्नशाला ॥ ४४ ॥
दिग्गेहानि विदिग्गृहैरभिमतैर्योनिप्रभिन्नैर्मिथः
श्लिष्टानीह बहिःसमैव परितः सीमाथ मध्येऽङ्गणम् ।
श्लिष्टानां तु मिथो भवेदिह मितिः संभूय धाम्नां ध्वजो
भिन्ना सैकविदिश्यसत्यपि पुनस्तुर्यश्रशाला मता ॥ ४५ ॥
प्राच्ये चाग्निसमर्पणादिकमुदीचीने कुटुम्बादिकं
व्यत्यस्य प्रकरोतु वा द्वयमिदं याम्येऽतिथिप्रीणनम् ।
पाश्चात्ये धनसन्निधापनमतो द्वन्द्वं विपर्यस्य वा
शेषार्धे कृतयोस्तथा शयनविद्याभ्यासनाद्यं चरेत् ॥ ४६ ॥
कृत्वा दिङ्नवनागवर्गपदभिन्ने क्षेत्रकेऽन्तर्गतै-
रष्टयङ्काङ्घ्रिपदैर्विधातृपदयुक्तं प्राङ्गणं मध्यतः ।
शालाः पङ्क्तियुतार्यकादिकजुषां तद्बाह्यतस्तद्बहि-
र्गोष्ठोलूखलवेश्मकादिविलसत्पङ्क्त्यावृतं कल्पयेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
माहेन्द्रे सलिलाधिराजि च तटाकं कूपमैशानके
पर्जन्ये पवनीलयं शिखिनि वा कूप्यालयं तद्बहिः ।
कार्तान्त्यां कळसद्म नैर्ऋतपदे कुर्वीत धान्यालयं
गोशालाम्बुपतौ हरावपि समीरे धाम चौलूखलम् ॥ ४८ ॥
मध्ये ब्रह्मगृहं नृपस्थितिगृहं मित्रे विहारोऽनिले .
व्यायामो ऽर्गळके धनं धनपतौ स्नानादि पर्जन्यके ।
ईशे ऽर्चाद्यथ भुक्तिसद्म वरुणे नृत्तादि गान्धर्वके
शस्त्राद्यं निरृतौ गृहक्षतपदे शय्यापदं भूभुजाम् ॥ ४९ ॥
दण्डात्प्राङ्गणमध्यतोऽङ्घ्रिशरषट्सप्तादिसंख्या व्यती-
त्याद्याद्यादथ पौष्पदन्तिकपदे द्वारं प्रचारोदितम् ।

भल्लाटेन्द्रगृहक्षतेष्वपि महाद्वाराण्युपद्वारका-
ण्यष्टाशान्तभृशादिकेषु परतः पर्जन्यनिष्ठेष्वपि ॥ ९० ॥
कुर्यात्प्राङ्गणतो गमागमकृते द्वारं महत्पादुके
हस्तैर्वाङ्गुलकैः प्रकल्पितशुभायाद्यप्ररूढोत्तरम् ।
स्वायामप्रविभक्तरुद्रदशनन्देभांशविस्तारतः
खण्डोत्पन्नघनाङ्घ्रियुग्मविलसन्मङ्गल्यपद्यादिकम् ॥ ९१ ॥
एकाङ्घ्र्यूनादिदण्डोच्छ्रितमुपरि निधायोत्तरे वाजनं प्राक्
तिर्यग्दण्डोच्छ्रिताङ्घ्र्यूनितबहलतुलास्तासु वंशानुवृत्या ।
स्वार्धाक्रान्ता जयन्तीस्तदुपरि सुसमीकृत्य कृत्वानुमार्गं
निश्छिद्रं छादयेत् स्वोचितघनफलका प्रस्तरेणोर्ध्वभागम् ॥ ९२ ॥
लुपास्तम्भादिसंख्यानां युग्मत्वं परिकल्पितम् ।
स्यादर्गलोर्ध्वभागस्य तत्पादार्धसमोच्छ्रयः ॥ ९३ ॥
आवापवत्सयोः कूपं कुर्यादिन्द्रजयेऽथवा ।
यानाङ्गादिषु केतुः स्यात् सिंहः पीठासनादिषु ।
कूपभाण्डादिषु वृषः पर्यङ्कादिष्विभश्शुभः ॥ ९४ ॥
यवैराभरणादीनामङ्गुलैरासनादिषु ।
अनामिकाङ्गुलिद्वन्द्वप्रमाणेनायुधादिषु ॥ ९५ ॥
मुष्टिभिर्यज्ञपात्रादौ तालेन प्रतिमादिषु ।
वितस्तिमानतो ग्राह्यं वस्त्रप्रावरणादिकम् ॥ ९६ ॥
गेहादीनां तु हस्तेन वास्तोर्दण्डेन कीर्तितम् ।
दुर्गादीनां तु रज्ज्वा च नाहमानं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ ९७ ॥
योनिव्ययायनक्षत्रवयांसि तिथिवारकौ ।
एवमादीनि चिन्त्यानि शिल्पिभिः शिल्पकर्मणि ॥ ९८ ॥

इति षट्पञ्चाशिका समाप्ता ॥

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[1] The Triv. ed. of the Tantrasamuccaya (2. 46) reads विततितुलाः ।

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

By H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

I

THE VEṆĪSAṀVARAṆAPRĀKṚTAVYĀKHYĀNA OF HARIHARA

FOR the first appearance of this commentary in print, the credit must go to *Julius Grill* who, in 1871, published it at Leipzig as an *Anhang* to his edition of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* (*Die Ehrenrettung Der Königin*) *Kritish Mit Einleitung Und Noten*. What is done by the Editor here is to reproduce the original MS. which is incomplete, which begins and ends abruptly, and which contains no where in it the name of its author.

A manuscript of this commentary exists in the Adyar Library, bearing the Shelf-number IX.E.33, and is mentioned on p. 30*b* of the Second Part of the Library Catalogue. It is a fairly old Paper MS., written in Devanāgarī and consists of 22 folia. The main aim of the present note is to point out how this MS. is not merely free from all the deficiencies found in the MS. which formed the basis for *Grill's* Edition, but also contains some better readings which could be used with advantage in the preparation of a future edition of this commentary. The present MS. also reveals for the first time the name of the author and his genealogy. All this will be clear on a close examination of the manuscript.

The opening verse thus describes the nature of the commentary by pointing out that its sole purpose is to render into Sanskrit the numerous *Prākṛt* passages which occur in the well-known *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of *Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa* :

वेणीसंवरणाख्ये(ऽ)स्मिन्नाटके यदुदाहृतं ।
प्राकृतेनातिदुर्बोधं संस्कृतेन तदुच्यते ॥

Reading the colophons of the commentary at the end of Act III[1] as well as at the end of the work,[2] one is led to believe that the

[1] *Iti Veṇīsaṁvaraṇākhye prākṛtavyākhyāne tṛtīyo'ṅkaḥ.*
[2] *Iti Veṇīsaṁvaraṇākhye prākṛtavyākhyāne ṣaṣṭho'ṅkaḥ.*

commentary is called *Veṇīsaṁvaraṇa*, but this cannot be so, for the name is not at all appropriate for the commentary. The opening verse cited above shows on the other hand that *Veṇīsaṁvaraṇa*, is the name given by the author of this commentary to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's Drama familiarly known as the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*. This is supported[3] by the existence of a MS. (*Aufrecht* 307) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, according to which *Veṇīsaṁvaraṇa* is only a cognomen of the Drama.

The author of this commentary is *Harihara*, son of *Mādhava* and pupil of *S'ambhudīkṣita*. The following colophonic verses are the authority for this information :

वेणीसंवरणस्येयं कृता व्याख्या विभूतये ।
लोकानां प्रीतये भूयाद्भवान्या(:) शंकरस्य च ॥
तर्कालंकृतकाव्यकोशरचनादक्षं गुरुं दीक्षितं
शंभुं वन्दितमाधवञ्च पितरं नत्वा तथा मातरम् ।
वेणीसंवरणस्य या हरिहरैरेषा कृता कौतुका-
ट्टीका प्राकृतबोधिनी बुधजनानन्दाय सा जायताम् ॥

In the absence of sufficient information regarding the author, it is not possible to say now anything as regards his date. His name, however, suggests that he might have been a southerner by birth.

II

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE KĀVYAVILĀSA OF CIRAÑJĪVIBHAṬṬA BY VĀSUDEVA

On p. 36*b* of the Second Part of the Library Catalogue, mention is made of a *Navarasalakṣaṇa* by *Vāsudeva*. This is a fairly old paper MS., bearing the Shelf-number XXXV. C. 76. It is written in Devanāgarī and contains 7 folia. Though it deserves to

[3] Cf. also *CC*. I. 603 *b*, where *Aufrecht* mentions *Veṇīsaṁhāra* and *Veṇīsaṁvaraṇa* as alternative names.

be called by the name given to it in the Catalogue, it no where contains its name. Those responsible for giving the name must have done so, seeing that it deals with the nine *Rasas*.

But the real fact is that this is no more than an excerpt from a bigger work on Poetics, called *Kāvyavilāsa*, by *Vāsudeva*, son of *Devabhaṭṭa* and elder brother of *Bālabhaṭṭa*. This is evidenced by the concluding colophon of the work: *Iti devabha(ṭṭā)tmaja bālabha(ṭṭāgra)jena vāsudevena kāvyavilāsād yāni lakṣaṇāni pṛthakkṛtāni tāni.*

There is a MS. (*Eggeling* 1191) of the *Kāvyavilāsa* [1] in the India Office Library, London. As *Colebrooke* describes it, it is "a treatise on rhetoric, by *Cirañjīvibhaṭṭa*, son of *Ācāryas'atāvadhāna*. It consists of two chapters, treating of poetic sentiments and rhetorical figures respectively, in brief explanations, illustrated by stanzas composed by the author." In this work, the verse introducing the section on *Rasa* runs:

> *S'ṛṅgārahāsyakaruṇaraudravīrabhayānakāḥ* |
> *Rasā nava samuddiṣṭā bībhatsādbhutas'āntayaḥ* ||

This verse is identical with the opening stanza of the *Navarasalakṣaṇa*.

From these considerations, the conclusion is obvious that the *Navarasalakṣaṇa* is nothing else but an abridgement of the first section of *Cirañjīvibhaṭṭa*'s larger work called the *Kāvyavilāsa*.

The work must be recent. *Vāsudeva*, the author of the summary says that he is the elder brother of *Bālabhaṭṭa* and son of *Devabhaṭṭa*. If this *Bālabhaṭṭa* should be the same as *Bālaṁbhaṭṭa* son of *Mahādeva*, and commentator on the *Mitākṣara* of *Vijñānes'vara*, *Vāsudeva*, his contemporary, must have lived between C. 1730 and 1820 A.D.[2] It is also known [3] that *Cirañjīvi-*

[1] I have since found that this work is printed as No. 16 of the *Sarasvati Bhavana Texts*. On comparing the *Navarasalakṣana* with this work, I find that the former work is, except for the illustrative verses which are omitted here, no more than the first chapter of the *Kāvyavilasa*.

[2] This is the date given by Kane (*History of Dharmas'āstra*, I. 462) to *Bālambhaṭṭa*.

[3] S.K.De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I. 294.

bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvyavilāsa*, lived in the first-half of the 18th Century A.D. *Vāsudeva's* abstract from this work must hence have appeared sometime at the end of that century.

III

THREE VARIANT COMMENTARIES ON THE PRĀKṚT PASSAGES OF THE ABHIJÑĀNAS'ĀKUNTALA

Quite a number of commentaries on the whole of the *Abhijñānas'ākuntala* are known, and a good many of them have already been published; but glosses on the *prākṛt* passages only of this Drama are neither so familiar nor popular. The Adyar Library possesses a MS. (XLI. B. 25) of a work belonging to the latter class. It is in paper, written in Devanāgarī and consists of 36 folia. It begins *Atha s'ākuntalaprākṛtasya ṭīkā* and ends *Iti s'ākuntala-ṭippaṇe saptamo'ṅkaḥ*. It is called *S'ākuntalaprākṛtaṭīkā* in the Library Catalogue (II. 31*a*). Its author is anonymous.

Besides this commentary, *two* more MSS. bearing the name *Abhijñānas'ākuntalaprākṛtavivṛtiḥ* are known, one (D. 12490) in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras and the other (No. 4312)[1] in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore. Though both these MSS. have a common name, they are not the same. The former is the work of an anonymous disciple of a *Rāmes'a* as is known from its invocatory verse:

> *Natvā rāmes'agurave dvipāsyāya ca bhaktitaḥ* ।
> *S'ākuntalāprākṛtasya saṁskṛtenārtha ucyate* ॥

But the concluding colophon[2] of the latter work shows clearly that its author is *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*, son of *Rāmes'varabhaṭṭa*. Also,

[1] *Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. VIII, p. 3343.

[2] This runs: *Iti s'rīmad rāmes'varabhaṭṭasutanārāyaṇaviracitāyāṁ s'ākuntalaprākṛtavivṛtau saptamo'ṅkaḥ.*

this commentary begins with the phrases *s'rī gaṇes'āya namaḥ*, *s'rī reṇukāya namaḥ*, while the former has a benedictory verse at the beginning where obeisance is made to the elephant-headed (*dvipāsya*) Gaṇapati. There also seem to be some textual variations between these two commentaries. Thus while the Madras MS. ends with *manogatam me mac cittam bhavatyā*, the Tanjore MS. concludes with *manorathaḥ khalu me bhavatyā*.

Comparing these *two* MSS. with the Adyar Library MS., it is easily seen that the variation is all the greater. It was mentioned before that, while the former MSS. mention some information about their authors, the latter has no such revelation to make. But this is not all the difference. The commentary available in the Adyar Library seems to have a special technique of its own. While the other two commentaries are content with rendering the *prākṛt* passages into Sanskrit, this commentary finds it necessary to make a brief summary, here and there, of the Sanskrit passages also, so that the context may be quite clear. Thus while the Madras and Tanjore MSS. begin abruptly with the words:

नटी—आर्यपुत्रेयमस्मि । आज्ञापयत्वार्यः ।

the Adyar MS. has the following introductory passage:

अथ नाटकादौ पूर्वर(ङ्ग)भूतामाशीरूपां चतुरस्रतालानुसारिणीमष्टपदां ना(न्दीं) सूत्रधारः पठति । या सृष्टिरिति । श्रुतिविषयगुणा शब्दगुणेति नभोरूपा । शेषं स्पष्ट(म्) । सूत्रधारः पठेन्नान्दीमित्युक्तेः । सूत्रधारलक्षणं मातृगुप्तेनोक्तं । चतुरातोद्यनिष्णातो (नै)कभूषासमावृतः । नानाभाषणतत्त्वज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ॥ शेषोपचारचतुरः पौरैषणविचक्षणः । नानागतिप्रचारज्ञो रसभावविशारदः ॥ नाट्यप्रयोगनिपुणो नानाशिल्पकलान्वितः । छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञो सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥ तत्तद्गीतानुगलयकलातालावधारणः । एवंगुणगणोपेतः सूत्रधारोऽभिधीयते ॥ नान्दी तु—आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपः श्लोकः का(व्या)[1]र्थसूचकः ।

[1] MS. wrongly reads कार्यार्थसूचकः

नान्दीति कथ्यत इति । सा च त्र्यस्रतालानुगा त्रिपदा षट्पदा द्वादशपदा च तावत्पादा वा चतुरस्रतालानुगा चतुष्पदाष्टपदा षोडशपदा च तावत्पादा वा भवति । नान्द्या अन्ते सूत्रधारो नाटकप्रयोगानुष्ठानचतुरः स्थापकनामा नटः प्रविशतीति शेषः । नेपथ्यं स्याज्जवनिका रङ्गभूमिप्रसाधनमित्यजयः । नेपथ्यविधानं वेषकरणमवसितं संपूर्णं ।

The difference is seen even in the way in which each of these MSS. end:

Madras MS.: मनोगतं मे मच्चित्तं भवत्या । इति शाकुन्तलप्राकृतविवृतौ सप्तमोऽङ्कः ॥

Tanjore MS.: . . . . . मनोरथः खलु मे भगवत्या . . . . . इति . . . . . शाकुन्तलप्राकृतविवृतौ सप्तमोऽङ्कः ॥

Adyar MS.: दुहितृवत्सला मेनका इहैवोपचरन्ती तिष्ठति । इदमस्तु भरतवाक्यमिति राज्ञोक्तं भरतोऽनुवदति । नाटकाभिनयसमाप्तौ सामाजिकेभ्यो नटेनाशीरुदीर्यत इत्यर्थः । इति शाकुन्तलटिप्पणे सप्तमो(ऽङ्कः) ॥

The exact nature of the *prākṛts* in Sanskrit Dramas is always a problem. This is largely due to the handiwork of the scribe who, in the act of copying, often introduces to the original words from his own provincial dialect, and this tampering is seldom discovered. It is only the comparison of the MSS. of several commentaries that can be of help in finding out, to some extent, what might have been the original phraseology of the author. In pointing out in this note *three* commentaries on only the *prākṛt* passages of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala* which differ among themselves not only in form, but in content as well, the object is to induce a search for further commentaries which, when brought together with those that are available, will certainly aid the preparation of a reliable text of the *prākṛt* passages occurring in the immortal Drama of Kālidāsa.

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

THE HĀRĪTA SMṚTI

BY A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.

(*Continued from p. 148 of Vol. V, part 3*)

vv. 329-334—*Printed version* :

आयुष्कामी तु पूर्वाह्णे वत्सरं प्रयुतं जपेत् ।
ध्यायेच्छिशुतनुं कृष्णं तिलैर्हुत्वाऽऽयुराप्नुयात् ॥
कन्यार्थी तु जपेत्सायं षोडशं त्र्ययुतं हरिम् ।
ध्यात्वा सहस्रं जुहुयात् लाजैर्मधुविमिश्रितैः ॥
स्त्रियं लभेत्स्वाभिमतां रूपौदार्यवतीं सतीम् ।
सम्पत्कामी जपेन्नित्यं मध्याह्नेतु ऋतुत्रयम् ॥
द्वारकायां सुधर्मायां रत्नसिंहासने स्थितम् ।
शङ्खादिनिधिभी राजकुलैरपि सुसेवितम् ॥
हारादि भूषणैर्युक्तं शङ्खाद्यायुधधारिणम् ।
ध्यात्वा संपूज्य होमं च जपश्चायुतसंख्यया ॥
अब्जबिल्वदलैर्वापि होमो मधुविमिश्रितः ।
शाश्वतीं श्रियं—

Manuscript :

आयुष्कामी तु पूर्वाह्णे वत्सरं त्र्ययुतं जपेत् ।
ध्यात्वा शिशुतनुं कृष्णं जपेन्मन्त्रं समाहितः ॥
जुहुयाच्च सहस्रं तु तिलैर्घृतविमिश्रितैः ।
निरामयं भवेदायुः जरारोगविवर्जितम् ॥
कन्यार्थी तु जपेन्नित्यं योषिन्मण्डलमध्यगम् ।
वृतं षोडशसाहस्रभार्याभिः कमलेक्षणम् ॥
ध्यात्वा सायाह्नसमये जपेदयुतमच्युतम् ।
सहस्रं जुहयादग्नौ लाजान्मधुविमिश्रितान् ॥

सर्वलक्षणसंपन्नां महावंशसमुद्भवाम् ।
लभेतायुष्मतीं कन्यां सुशीलां सुदृढव्रताम् ॥
संपत्कामी जपेन्नित्यं द्वारकानिलयं हरिम् ।
शङ्खपद्मादिनिधिभिः संवृतं परमासने ॥
सुधर्मायां समासीनं बहुराजकुलैर्वृतम् ।
शङ्खचक्रगदाशार्ङ्गवरदैर्दोर्भिरावृतम् ॥
हारकेयूरकटकभूषणाद्यैः विराजितम ।
ध्यात्वा नित्यं जपेन्मन्त्रं षण्मासं विजितेन्द्रियः ॥
मध्यंदिने जपेन्नित्यं अयुतं विजितेन्द्रियः ।
सुगन्धकुसुमैः पूज्य होमं कुर्याच्च भक्तितः ॥
अरविन्ददलैर्वापि बिल्वपत्रैरथापि वा ।
ध्यात्वा कमलपत्राक्षं जुहुयान्मधुमिश्रितैः ॥
शाश्वतीं— (*Folia* 14*b*-to 15*a*)

Here also there are vital differences as to the number of times the mantra has to be repeated and in the use of specific materials for *homa* for the fulfilment of particular desires. A comparison of *ll.* 3 to 5 of the printed version with the corresponding portion in the manuscript (cited above), will also show which of the two is the more understandable.

v. 335—Second half only: *Printed version* :

ध्यायन्त्रिमासमयुतं जप्त्वा लावण्यवान् भवेत् ।

Manuscript :

सुस्मितं वेणुगायंतं गोपस्त्रीपरिवेष्ठितम् ।
ध्यात्वा नन्दव्रजे कृष्णं त्रिमासमयुतं सदा ॥
रूपलावण्यमाप्नोति कन्दर्प इव मूर्तिमान् ।
एवं कृष्ण— (*Folio* 15*a*)

vv. 340-341—*Printed version* :

अङ्गुलीषु यथाङ्गेषु बीजेनाद्येन वै क्रमात् ।

यथा संन्यासकृद्भूत्वा पश्चाद्ध्यानं समाचरेत् ॥
बृहत्तनुं बृहद्ग्रीवं बृहद्दंष्ट्रं सुशोभनम् ।
समस्तवेद—

Manuscript :

अङ्गुलीषु यथाङ्गेषु बीजेनाद्येन वैष्णवः ।
क्रमेणैव यथा वक्तुं न्यासकर्म समाचरेत् ॥
एवं न्यासविधिं कृत्वा पश्चाद्ध्यानं समाचरेत् ।
एकदंष्ट्रेण हृदये त्वोमुल्काय तथा शिरः ॥
शिखायां तेजोपतये कवचे विश्वरूपिणे ।
महादंष्ट्राय नेत्रे तु पञ्चाङ्गन्यासमाचरेत् ॥
एवं न्यासविधिं कृत्वा पश्चाद्ध्यानं समाचरेत् ।
बृहत्तनुं बृहद्ग्रीवं बृहद्गात्रं महाबलम् ॥
बृहद्दंष्ट्रं सुन्दरास्यं भूषणैश्च सुशोभनम् ।
समस्तवेद— (*Folio* 15*b*)

It is noteworthy that the additional matter in the manuscript is not only self-explanatory but follows the trend of the subject closely and makes the passage clear.

v. 344—*Printed version* :

एवं ध्यात्वा हरिं नित्यं प्रातरष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।
जप्त्वा लभेच्च भूपत्वं ततो विष्णुपुरं व्रजेत् ॥

Manuscript :

एवं ध्यात्वा हरिं नित्यं जपेन्मन्त्रमतन्द्रितः ।
प्रातरष्टशतं जप्त्वा लभेद्विद्यामभीप्सिताम् ॥
त्रिकालं नियतो भूत्वा जपेदष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।
लभेत् सद्यो भूपतित्वं— (*Folio* 15*b*)

The difference in meaning between the two passages are apparent and require no comment. According to the printed version a repetition of the *Varāha mantra* one hundred and eight times

every morning is laid down for one who wishes to attain kingship. The same condition is laid down in the manuscript for one desirous of *Vidyās*, while to one wishing to become a king, the repetition of the mantra a hundred and eight times, three times a day, is the condition.

vv. 355-360 :

This portion of the printed version deals with the *Nṛsimha mantra.* On a comparison with the manuscript it is found that there are not only vital differences between the two versions but additional matter as well, in the manuscript. Both the versions are given below.

Printed version :

तद्बीजमादितः कृत्वा पश्चान्मन्त्रं प्रयोजयेत् ॥ (355)

ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमो नरसिंहाय ज्वालामालिने दीर्घदंष्ट्रायाग्निनेत्राय सर्वरक्षोघ्नाय सर्वभूतविनाशाय दह दह पच पच रक्ष रक्ष हुं फट् स्वाहा इति ज्वालामालि पाताल नृसिंहाय नमः ॥ (356)

बीजेनैव न्यासः । (357)

आं ह्रीं क्ष्रौं क्रौं हुं फट् । (358)

अस्य मन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मा ऋषिः पङ्क्तिच्छन्दो नृसिंहो देवता नृसिंहास्त्रमिदं बीजेनैव न्यासः । (359)

श्रीकारपूर्वो नृसिंहो द्विर्ज्ञेयादुपरि स्थितः ।

Manuscript :

ताद्बीजमादितः कृत्वा पश्चान्मन्त्रमुदीरयेत् ।

नमो भगवते नारसिंहाय ज्वालामालिने दीप्तदंष्ट्रायाग्निनेत्राय सर्वोरक्षोघ्नाय सर्वभूतनिवासाय सर्वज्वर-विनाशाय दह दह पच पच रक्ष रक्ष हुं फट् स्वाहा ।

इति ज्वालामालि पातालनृसिंहस्य महामनुः ।

बीजेनैव न्यासकर्म कुर्याद्विध्युक्तमार्गतः ।

आं ओं ऐं क्षौं क्रों हुंफडिति मूल मन्त्र उदाहृतः—

अस्य मन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मार्षि पङ्क्तिश्छन्द उदाहृतः ।
नृसिंहो देवता प्रोक्तः प्रीत्यर्थे विनियुज्यते ॥
नृसिंहास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं बीजेनैव न्यसेत्ततः ।
श्रीकारपूर्वो नृसिंहो दुर्जयादुपरि स्थितः ॥ (*Folio* 16*a*)

While the printed version treats इति ज्वालामालि पातालनृसिंहाय नमः as part of the mantra the manuscript gives the corresponding portion in the form of a verse which comprises of part of No. (356) and the whole of (357) with additional words. The same procees is repeated for (359) as well. The texual variations between the two versions regading the Nṛsimha-mantra (356) is of cardinal importance.

An additional line is found in the manuscript before the first half of *v.* 366 and runs thus:

सकर्णकैर्दलैरिष्टैः अष्टभिः परिशोभितम् ।
पञ्चास्यवदनं— (*Folio*-16*b*)

Printed version:

vv. 367-373

उपेयन्यासं सुमुखं तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राविराजितम् ।
व्यात्तास्यमरुणोष्ठं च भीषणैर्नयनैर्युतम् ॥
सिंहस्कन्धानुरूपांसं वृत्तायतचतुर्भुजम् ।
जपासमाङ्घ्रिहस्ताब्जं पद्मासनसुसंस्थितम् ॥
श्रीवत्सकौस्तुभोरस्कं वनमालाविराजितम् ।
केयूराङ्गदहाराद्यं नूपुरादिविराजितम् ॥
चक्रशङ्खाभयवरचतुर्हस्तं विभुं स्मरेत् ।
वामाङ्के संस्थितां लक्ष्मीं सुन्दरीं भूषणान्विताम् ॥
दिव्यचन्दनलिप्ताङ्गीं दिव्यपुष्पोपशोभिताम् ।

गृहीतपद्मयुगलमातुलङ्गकरान्विताम् ॥
एवं देवीं नृसिंहस्य वामाङ्कोपरिसंस्थिताम्
ध्यात्वा जपेज्जपं नित्यं पूजयेच्च यथाविधि ॥

Manuscript ;

चम्पकाकुसुमाभाससुनासमुखपङ्कजम् ।
सस्फुलिङ्गै ज्वॅलद्भिश्च तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रैर्विराजितम् ॥
अतिरक्तोष्टवदनं व्यक्तास्यमतिभीषणम् ।
पद्मासनस्थं देवेशं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ॥
सिंहस्कन्धानुरूपांसं वृत्तायत चतुर्भुजम् ।
सर्वरत्नसमायुक्तं पद्मासनसुसंस्थितम् ॥
श्रीवत्सकौस्तुभोरस्कं वनमालाविराजितम् ।
केयूराङ्गदहाराद्यैः भूषणैरुपशोभितम् ॥
कटिसूत्रेण हैमेन नूपुराभ्यां विराजितम् ।
शङ्खगृहीताभ्यां उद्बाहुभ्यां विराजितम् ॥
वरदाभयहस्ताभ्यामितराभ्यां विराजितम् ।
एवं लक्षणसंयुक्तं हृदये हि विभुं स्मरेत् ॥
वामाङ्के संस्थितां लक्ष्मीं ध्यायेत्काञ्चन सन्निभाम् ।
रूपलावण्यसंपन्नां सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ॥
सुरक्तवसनोपेतां नीलकुञ्चितशीर्षजाम् ।
प्रदीप्तकुण्डलाद्यैश्च कर्णिकैरुपशोभिताम् ॥
नासाग्रमौक्तिकेनापि सीमन्तेन विराजिताम् ।
चतुर्भुजां सुन्दराङ्गी केयूराङ्गदभूषणाम् ॥
दिव्यचन्दनलिप्ताङ्गीं दिव्यपुष्पोपशोभिताम् ।
सुवर्णकलशप्रख्यपीनोन्नतपयोधराम् ॥
गृहीतपद्मयुगलामुद्बाहुभ्यां विराजिताम् ।
गृहीतमातुलिङ्गाख्य जाम्बूनदकरां तथा ॥ (*Folia* 16*b*—17*a*)

The first half of *v.* 367 is not very clear as to its meaning, as found in the printed version. As usual, the corresponding portion of the manuscript gives a more elaborate description making the implication clear, practically amplifying the abridged version found in the printed text.

Two additional half verses are tacked in the manuscript between the first and the second halves of *v.* 376 of the printed text and run thus:

> यक्षविद्याधरत्वं च तथान्यच्च प्रयच्छति ।
> दृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्वा संपूज्य वरकेसरिम् ॥
> प्राप्नुवन्ति नरा राज्यं— (*Folio* 17*a*)

Verses 378-381 in the printed version differ to a considerable extent from the corresponding portion in the manuscript. The latter has definitely better readings in the first line न्यासनाद्येन (*manuscript*) for न्यासमध्येन (*printed*) and दैत्यनाथं प्रह्लादमग्र: (*manuscript*) for दैत्यनाशकं देवमग्रत: । (*printed*).

The former is more in keeping with purānic tradition and Nṛsimha—pūjā usually followed.

Printed Version:

vv. 378-381.

> न्यासमध्येन बीजेन चार्चनं तुलसीदलै: ॥
> पूर्वोक्तविधिना पीठे पूजयित्वा समाहित: ।
> परित: पूजयेद्दिक्षु गरुडं शंकरं तथा ॥
> शेषं च पद्मयोनिं च श्रियं मायां धृतिं तथा ।
> पुष्टिं समर्चयेद्दिक्षु ततो लोकेश्वरान् यजेत् ॥
> महाभागवतं दैत्यनाशकं देवमग्रत: ।
> एवं संपूज्य—

Manuscript:

> न्यासमाद्येन बीजेन कुर्वीतात्रसमाहित: ।

अर्चयेत्तुलसीपत्रैः बिल्वपत्रैरथापि वा ।
अर्चयेद्वैष्णवे पीठे पूर्वोक्तविधिना द्विजः ॥
समाहितः पूजयित्वा नृसिंहं दानवान्तकम् ।
परितः पूजयेद्दिक्षु गरुडं शङ्करं तथा ॥
शेषं च पद्मयोनिं च श्रियं मायां धृतिं तथा ।
पुष्पं समर्चयेद्दिक्षु ततो लोकेश्वरान्यजेत् ॥
महाभागवतं दैत्यनाथं प्रह्लादमग्रतः ।
एवं संपूज्य— (*Folio* 17*a*)

Dealing with the *Vāmanamantra* the printed text cites the *Vāmana-mālā mantra* under No. 391.

ओं नमो विष्णवे महाबलाय स्वाहा इति वामन मन्त्रः ।

The manuscript gives the corresponding portion.

ओन्नमो विष्णवे सुरपतये महाबलाय स्वाहा—इति वामनमालामन्त्रः—प्रोक्तवान् विष्णुरव्ययः— (*Folio* 17*b*)

A verse later comes the *mūla mantra* of the Vāmana-group A comparison of the printed version and the manuscript reveals essential differences.

Printed Version :

ह्रीं श्रीं श्रीवैामनाय नमः इति मूलमन्त्रः ।

Manuscript :

ह्रीं श्रीं वां श्रींवामनाय नमः इत्युच्चरेद्विजः ।
इत्येव मूलमन्त्रं स्यात् ब्रह्माद्यैः पूजितो भवेत् । (*Folio* 17*b*)

(*To be continued*)

AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE BHARADVĀJAS'IKṢĀ

In the *Adyar Library Bulletin* (December 1941, p. 189) under the caption "Author of a Commentary on the Bharadvājas'ikṣā," the critic finds fault with the editors of the Bharadvājas'ikṣa for their statement that Nāges'vara was the name of the commentator and opines that the author of the commentary is Jaṭāvallabha Lakṣmaṇas'āstrin. But the editors' observations are alone correct. Jaṭāvallabha Lakṣmaṇas'āstrin wrote an incomplete commentary and that up to the sixtieth s'loka, as can be seen from the statement in Emil Sieg's edition (p. 60):

> bhāradvājamuniproktā bhāradvājena dhīmatā
> vyākhyātā lakṣhmaṇākhyena jaṭāvallabhas'āstriṇā
> ṣaṣṭis'lokaparyantam mayā vyākhyānaṃ kṛtam tataḥ
> Karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ

But who wrote then the full commentary? It is furnished in the edition published by us. Unfortunately Mr. Madhava Krishna Sarma noted the colophon in Tamil but failed to note that in Sanskrit just above this Tamil note. It runs as follows:

> विपश्चिद्वृद्धगिरिजनागेश्वरमनीषिणा ।
> भारद्वाजशिक्षाव्याख्या वृद्धाचलनिवासिना ॥

The term vyākhyā should be specially noted. From this it transpires that Nāges'vara was the author of the commentary and the copyist as well. He wrote the commentary in his own hand.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

[Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar had used four manuscripts. One is from a private collection and another from Trivandrum. Both of them contain the commentary. Two manuscripts from the Adyar Library contain only the text. In the manuscript from the private collection, there is a colophon at the end which reads :

> akhaṇḍasaccidānandaparamas'rīmahādgurubhyo namaḥ.
> vipas'cidvṛddhagirijanāges'varamanīṣiṇā
> bhāradvajasikṣāvyākhyā vṛddhācalanivāsinā.

Then the date of the transcription and the name of the scribe are given. The date is converted into Christian era as 6-9-1779. The scribe is Nāges'vara son of Vṛddhagiri. There is no difficulty thus far. In the verse preceding this date, there is the name of Nāges'vara and also of the commentary on the Bhāradvājas'ikṣā. But there is no verb in the verse. One is not sure of the relation between the man and the work, whether it is as author or only as scribe. Nāges'vara being the scribe is certain. His being the author too is not proved. This portion is missing in the Trivandrum manuscript. If Nages'vara were the author, this omission is rather improbable.

Further, the Trivandrum copy which Mr. Dikshitar has utilized and from which he gives variants even in respect of the commentary, mentions the name of the author definitely as Velimakanyāsūrāvadhāni. There is another copy of this work in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (D. S. C. 941) and there also the same name is given. From the variants given in the edition of Mr. Dikshitar, there is no room to assume that the Trivandrum manuscript represents a work substantially different from the manuscript of the private collection, which is the main basis of the edition. The Telugu manuscript in the Adyar Library also is another copy of the same work.

In the Adyar Library there is a manuscript of the *S'ikṣā* and the commentary in Telugu script (29. K. 17). There also, as in the Trivandrum manuscript, the last verse is :

> yo jānāti bharadvājas'ikṣām arthasamanvitām
> sa brahmalokam āpnoti gṛhamedhī gṛhm yathā

After this verse, there is no colophon giving the name of the author or of the scribe. The date of transcription is given as tṛtīyā in the month of Mārgasirṣa in the Kīlaka year. The data given is not enough to settle in which 60 year cycle this Kīlaka year represents. Anyway, if Nages'vara is the author and if he transcribed his own work in 1779, which was Piṅgala year, the Kīlaka year represented by the Adyar Library Telugu manuscript must be the one following, that is 1848, or 1908 A.D. From the appearance of the manuscript, it is more than 94 years old. If it is earlier than 1848, which is a Kīlaka year, the one earlier is 1788 and that is earlier than the date on which Nāges'vara transcribed his own work. Then we have to assume that Nāges'vara wrote his work earlier than 1779, others had made copies and then in 1779, he made a fresh transcript of it which is now made use of by Mr. Dikshitar in his edition. If Nāges'vara is the author, as well as the scribe, the omission of the name of the author in the two other manuscripts must be explained. Thus all that is proved in respect of Nāges'vara is that he transcribed the copy which Mr. Dikshitar has used in his edition.

As for Jaṭāvallabha Lakṣmaṇa, Emil Sieg has used the manuscript in the India office, contained in the Whish collection (no. 24 in Whish Collection; no. 25 (*b*) in Winternitz's Catalogue of 1902, p. 32). Here the manuscript ends with the verse that bears the number 90 in Mr. Dikshitar's edition, which has forty verses more. It is another copy of the same recension which is found in the Adyar Library (19. 0. 5) and on the basis of which Mr. Madhava Krishna Sarma wrote his note in the December Issue of the *Bulletin* Vol. V, 1041. Here the name of the commentator is definitely given as Jaṭāvallabha Lakṣmaṇa. In the Whish Collection copy, which is in Grantha script, there is also the following:

> ṣaṣṭis'lokaparyantan mayā vyākhyānam kṛtam tataḥ
> karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ

Here the last verse in the text is not sixtieth but sixty ninth. The metre of the first line is faulty too. The second line is what scribes usually write. In the Adyar Library copy, after the name of the author, there is the statement "samāptam."

There is considerable variation between the manuscript used by Mr. Dikshitar and the manuscript relied on by Mr. Madhava Krishna Sarma, which is practically identical with what Emil Sieg has used. The last verse in Sieg's edition, which is the sixty ninth there, bears the number 90 in Mr. Dikshitar's edition. The work begins differently as could be seen by a comparison of the citation from the Whish Collection manuscript in the Catalogue with the edition of Mr. Dikshitar. The following quotation from the Malayalam manuscript in the Adyar Library may be compared with the portion on pages 18 and 19 in the said edition:

ity aikāraḥ. idānīm aukārasahitapadāny ucyante. "enau vivāindrasyāyur ādāv ante 'gnaye 'nnavat." vivā etau indrasya vajro 'si vārtraghnaḥ. āyurdā agne. eṣv anuvākeṣu ādau enāv iti aukāra syāt. agnaye 'nnavata ity atra ante enāv iti syāt. pryayaivanau tanuvāsam. evainau samardhayaty atho etām. āhutyaivainau s'amayati nā yat kusīdam. atrādāv iti kim. evainam nirṛtipās'ān muñcati priyāyām evainām tanu vām. evainām svadayaty ahnām. agnaye 'nnavata ity atra nirvapati bhāgadheyenaivainena. atrānta iti kim. sa evainam annavantam karoti. "sphena yām parigharmāpanutyai teṣām parāṇuta." sphena bedim. yām vai. paryagni karoti. gharmayā te. eṣvanuvākeṣu bhrātṛvyāpanutyai iti syāt. yathā bhrātṛvyāpanyutyai prāṇāya tvāpānāya tvāpānāya tvety āha. Bhrātṛvyāpanutyai sarve vā anye. bhrātṛvyāpanutyai ghṛtasya kulyām anu. bhrātṛvyāpanutyai gharmait te. teṣām asurāṇām ity atra prāṇudata. parāṇutyai. iti ṇakārasahito bhavatīty arthaḥ. yathā bhrātṛvyasya parāṇutyai nānyām āhutim. atra aukāranirūpaṇānantaram ṇakārasahitapadanirūpaṇam ayuktam. tathāpi svatantrasya maharāer niyogaparyanuyogānarhatvāt maharāipriktamūlānu-sāravyākhyānam kṛtam kṛtam ity avaseyam. itaḥ param kakārādivyañjanasahitapad Pany ucyante.—Folia 242 *b* and 43 *a*.

There is no evidence of Jaṭāvallabha Lakṣmaṇa having written the commentary on the last 40 verses in the edition of Mr. Dikshitar. In the positions taken up both by Mr. Dikshitar and by Mr. Madhava Krishna Sarma, a portion has been proved and a portion yet remains to be proved.—Editor. *A. L. B.*]

REVIEWS

Mahabharata Thatparya Nirnaya of Srimad Ananda Theertha—Text and English Translation with notes from the unpublished commentary of Vadiraja Swami, by B. Gururaja Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore. 1941.

The name of Ānanda Tirtha is well known to students of Indian religion and philosophy. His name is better known as Madhvācārya. He advocated the doctrine of the reality of dualism in the Universe. His system is known as the Dvaita system, as distinct from the Advaita system of S'aṅkarācārya, according to which there is only one reality in the Universe, difference being an illusion, and from the Vis'iṣṭādvaita system advocated by Rāmānujācārya, according to which, the different elements, though real, are only parts of the one reality. All the Ācāryas accept the supremacy of the Highest One, the *Parabrahman*. The difference is in the relation between this Parabrahman on one side and of the individual souls and the universe on the other side. Madhvācārya accepted S'rī Kṛṣṇa as the Highest One and according to him the *Mahābhārata* explains the relation of this Highest One to the individual souls ; it is a religious or rather philosophical allegory. The book under review was written by Madhvācārya to elucidate his view on the point.

It is a great service that Mr. Gururaja Rao has done to students of Indian civilization by bringing out a very readable translation in English of this important work of the great Ācārya. Every one cannot be a Sanskrit scholar. Under necessities imposed by the conditions of the time, more people have become familiar with English, a foreign language, than there are people who know Sanskrit. The only way in which the rich treasures in Sanskrit could be made available to the less fortunate brethren is to render such works into English. The present work is only the first instalment, containing the first nine chapters of the work which is complete only in thirty two chapters. In a very lucid Foreword, Rao Bahadur B. Venkatesachar has given the salient features of the whole work.

The translation is simple and the notes make many points clear. The complete book is eagerly awaited. The first part contains nearly three hundred pages and is priced two rupees.

EDITOR

Four Essays on Suddha Yoga by Janardana. The Suddha Dharma Office, Mylapore, Madras.

This small book of about eighty pages contains four essays, giving some important points relating to Yoga. The Suddha Dharma Mandala is an organization founded for the propagation of the Teachings of "the Suddhacharyas, the Great Yogins they are." "The world is in the birth pangs of a future great civilization, the civilization of Synthesis." These essays will have an interest to those who believe in synthesis, as the author says himself in his Foreword.

In the Purāṇic period in the Hindu religion there is the belief of the Lord coming down as an Avatār whenever there is the domination of the evil in the world, for the destruction of such evil and for the restoration of what is right, as is clearly stated in the *Gītā*. There are some other religions also where there is the belief of the return of the Lord for the salvation of humanity. The essays now presented are meant as a help for those who desire to prepare themselves for the advent of the golden age.

The subject matter is very complicated and as such it is not possible to give even a resumé of the contents in the course of the review. And such a recapitulation of the subject matter has been made superfluous on account of the lucidity of exposition found in the book. I found reading the book very profitable and at the same time not at all taxing to the mind. I recommend the book to all who are interested in the subject of Yoga.

EDITOR

Journal of the Literary Committee of the L.E. Association, Dharwar, edited by S. C. Basawanal, M.A., S. C. Nandimath, M.A., Ph.D., and V. B. Halbhavi, B.A., LL.B. Annual Subscription, Rs. 3-8-0; pp. ii, 50; ii, 96.

This is the inaugural issue of the Anglo-Kannada quarterly started by the Liṅgāyat Education Association, Dharwar. The

main object of the Association being the uplift of the Liṅgāyat community educationally, it is but natural that its Journal should chiefly concern itself with aspects of the Vīraśaiva Religion, though its aim is to be also 'a forum for the expression of considered views on matters relating to Comparative Religion, Philosophy, Literature and History.' The Journal makes it *debut* on *Basava Jayanti*, and the first issue of it is most appropriately devoted to the description of the personality of Basava and his work. The Journal consists of *two* almost equal parts, the first part containing articles in English and the second those in Kannada. For the benefit of those who do not know Kannada, a summary in English of the articles in Kannada is added at the end of the English section.

The followers of Vīraśaiva religion, called the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats are one of those who rose in opposition to orthodox Hinduism dominated by priestly Brahmanism. In separating themselves from the orthodox Hindufold, these people were actuated by the same motive as the Puritans who went out of the Roman Catholicfold dominated by the Pope. Of the Hindu Trinity, only Śiva is recognized by them and while they accepted the authority of the Veda, the interpretation given by Brahmins to it was discarded by them wholesale. More than anything in Hinduism, what evoked the fullest resentment of the founder of this community *viz.*, Basava (c. 12th cent. A.D.) is the caste-system which, to him, was mainly responsible for brahmanical domination; but, tragical as it would seem, this initial principle which was in the main responsible for the birth of the entire community, was cruelly neglected by the later adherents of it. The result is that the Liṅgāyat community, as it exists now, has its own peculiar caste-distinctions. But still, the pronounced reformatory character of it makes its study quite essential. The present issue of the Journal contains well-written articles on almost all aspects of this character.

The Journal is nicely got up, and is bound to be of use not merely to the follower of Vīraśaivism but to the general student of Comparative Religion as well.

H.G.N.

Printed and published by C. Subbarayudu, at the Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras.

॥ श्रीशंकरगुरुकुलपत्रिका ॥

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THE TIDAL WAVE[1]

H. P. BLAVATSKY

The tidal wave of deeper souls,
Into our inmost being rolls,
And lifts us unawares,
Out of all meaner cares. —LONGFELLOW

THE great psychic and spiritual change now taking place in the realm of human Soul, is quite remarkable. It began towards the very commencement of the now slowly vanishing last quarter of our century, and will end—so says a mystic prophecy—either for the weal or the woe of civilised humanity, with the present cycle which will close in 1897. But the great change is not effected in solemn silence, nor is it perceived only by the few. On the contrary, it asserts itself amid a loud din of busy, boisterous tongues, a clash of public opinion, in comparison to which the incessant, ever-increasing roar even of the noisiest political agitation seems like the rustling of the young forest foliage, on a warm spring day.

Verily the Spirit in man, so long hidden out of public sight, so carefully concealed and so far exiled from the arena of modern learning, has at last awakened. It now asserts itself and is loudly redemanding its unrecognised yet ever legitimate rights. . .

[1] Reprinted from *Lucifer*, Vol. V.

Look around you and behold: think of what you see and hear, and draw therefrom your conclusions. The age of crass materialism, of Soul-insanity and blindness, is swiftly passing away. A death-struggle between Mysticism and Materialism is no longer at hand, but is already raging. And the party which will win the day at this supreme hour will become the master of the situation and of the future; *i.e.*, it will become the autocrat and sole disposer of the *millions* of men already born and to be born, up to the latter end of the twentieth century. If the signs of the times can be trusted, it is not the *Animalists* who will remain conquerors. This is warranted us by the many brave and prolific authors and writers who have arisen of late to defend the rights of Spirit to reign over matter. Many are the honest, aspiring Souls now raising themselves like a dead wall against the torrent of the muddy waters of Materialism. And facing the hitherto domineering flood which is still steadily carrying off into unknown abysses the fragments from the wreck of dethroned, cast-down Human Spirit, they now command: "So far hast thou come; but thou shalt go no further."

Amid all this external discord and disorganisation of social harmony; amid confusion and the weak and cowardly hesitations of the masses, tied down to the narrow frames of routine, propriety and cant; amid the late dead calm of public thought that had exiled from literature every reference to Soul and Spirit and their divine working during the whole of the middle period of our century—we hear a sound arising. Like a clear, definite, far-reaching note of promise, the voice of the great human Soul proclaims, in no longer timid tones, the rise and almost the resurrection of the human Spirit in the masses. It is now awakening in the foremost representatives of thought and learning. It speaks in the lowest as in the highest, and

stimulates them all to action. The renovated, life-giving Spirit in man is boldly freeing itself from the dark fetters of the hitherto all-capturing animal life and matter. Behold it, saith the poet, as ascending on its broad, white wings it soars into the regions of real life and light, whence, calm and godlike, it contemplates with unfeigned pity those golden idols of the modern material cult with their feet of clay, which have hitherto screened from the purblind masses their true and living gods.

Literature—once wrote a critic—is the confession of social life, reflecting all its sins, and all its acts of baseness as of heroism. In this sense a book is of a far greater importance than any man. Books do not represent one man, but they are the mirror of a host of men. Hence the great English poet-philosopher said of books, that he knew that they were as hard to kill and as prolific as the teeth of the fabulous dragon; sow them hither and thither, and armed warriors will grow out of them. To kill a good book is equal to killing a man.

The "poet-philosopher" is right.

A new era has begun in literature, this is certain. New thoughts and new interests have created new intellectual needs; hence a new race of authors is springing up. And this new species will gradually and imperceptibly shut out the old one, those *fogies* of yore who, though they still reign nominally, are allowed to do so rather by force of habit than predilection. It is not he who repeats obstinately and parrot-like the old literary formulæ and holds desperately to publishers' traditions, who will find himself answering to the new needs: not the man who prefers his narrow party discipline to the search for the long-exiled Spirit of man and the now lost TRUTHS; not these, but verily he who, parting

company with his beloved "authority," lifts boldly and carries on unflinchingly the standard of the *Future Man*. It is finally those who, amidst the present wholesale dominion of the worship of matter, material interests and SELFISHNESS, will have bravely fought for human rights and *man's divine nature*, who will become, if they only win, the teachers of the masses in the coming century, and so their benefactors.

But woe to the twentieth century, if the now reigning school of thought prevails, for Spirit would once more be made captive and silenced till the end of the coming age. It is not the fanatics of the dead letter in general, nor the iconoclasts and Vandals who fight the new Spirit of thought, nor yet the modern Roundheads, supporters of the old Puritan religious and social traditions, who will ever become the protectors and Saviours of the now resurrecting human thought and Spirit. It is not these too willing supporters of the old cult, and the mediæval heresies of those who guard like a relic every error of their sect or party, who jealously watch over their own thought lest it should, growing out of its teens, assimilate some fresher and more beneficent idea—not these who are the wise men of the future. It is not for them that the hour of the new historical era will have struck, but for those who will have learnt to express and put into practice the aspirations as well as the physical needs of the rising generations and of the now trampled-down masses. In order that one should fully comprehend *individual life* with its physiological, psychic and spiritual mysteries, he has to devote himself, with all the fervour of unselfish philanthropy and love for his brother-men, to studying and knowing *collcctive* life, or Mankind. Without preconceptions or prejudice, as also without the least fear of possible results in one or another direction, he has to decipher, understand and *remember* the deep and innermost

feelings and aspirations of the poor people's great and suffering heart. To do this he has first "to attune his soul with that of Humanity," as the old philosophy teaches; to thoroughly master the correct meaning of every line and word in the rapidly turning pages of the Book of Life of MANKIND, and to be thoroughly saturated with the truism that the latter is a whole inseparable from his own SELF.

How many of such profound readers of life may be found in our boasted age of science and culture? Of course we do not mean authors alone, but rather the practical and still unrecognised, though well known, philanthropists and altruists of our age; the people's friends, the unselfish lovers of man, and the defenders of human right to the freedom of Spirit. Few indeed are such; for they are the rare blossoms of the age, and generally the martyrs to prejudiced mobs and time-servers. Like those wonderful "Snow flowers" of Northern Siberia, which, in order to shoot forth from the cold frozen soil, have to pierce through a thick layer of hard, icy snow, so these rare characters have to fight their battles all their life with cold indifference and human harshness, and with the selfish ever-mocking world of wealth. Yet, it is only they who can carry out the task of perseverance. To them alone is given the mission of turning the "Upper Ten" of social circles from the broad and easy highway of wealth, vanity and empty pleasures into the arduous and thorny path of higher moral problems, and the perception of loftier moral duties than they are now pursuing. It is also those who, already themselves awakened to a higher Soul activity, are being endowed at the same time with literary talent, whose duty it is to undertake the part of awakening the sleeping Beauty and the Beast, in their enchanted Castle of Frivolity, to real life and light. Let all those who can, proceed fearlessly with this

idea uppermost in their mind, and they will succeed. It is the rich who have first to be regenerated, if we would do good to the poor; for it is in the former that lies the root of evil of which the "disinherited" classes are but the too luxuriant growth. This may seem at first sight paradoxical, yet it is true, as may be shown.

In the face of the present degradation of every ideal, as also of the noblest aspirations of the human heart, becoming each day more prominent in the higher classes, what can be expected from the "great unwashed"? It is the head that has to guide the feet, and the latter are to be hardly held responsible for their actions. Work, therefore, to bring about the moral regeneration of the cultured but far more immoral classes, before you attempt to do the same for our ignorant younger Brethren. The latter was undertaken years ago, and is carried on to this day, yet with no perceptible good results. Is it not evident that the reason for this lies in the fact that but for a few earnest, sincere, and all-sacrificing workers in that field, the great majority of the volunteers consists of those same frivolous, *ultra*-selfish classes, who "play at charity" and whose ideas of the amelioration of the physical and moral status of the poor are confined to the hobby that money and the Bible alone can do it? We say that neither of these can accomplish any good; for dead-letter preaching and forced Bible-reading develop irritation and later atheism, and money as a temporary help finds its way into the tills of the public-houses rather than serves to buy bread with. The root of the evil lies, therefore, in a moral, not in a physical cause.

If asked, what is it then that will help, we answer boldly: Theosophical literature; hastening to add that under this term, neither books concerning Adepts and phenomena, nor the Theosophical Society publications, are meant.

Take advantage of, and profit by, the "tidal wave" which is now happily overpowering half of Humanity. Speak to the awakening Spirit of Humanity, to the human Spirit and the Spirit in man, these three in One and the One in all. Dickens and Thackeray, both born a century too late—or a century too early—came between two tidal waves of human spiritual thought, and though they have done yeoman service individually and induced certain partial reforms, yet they failed to touch society and the masses at large. What the European world now needs is a dozen writers such as Dostoevsky, the Russian author, whose works, though *terra incognita* for most, are still well known on the Continent, as also in England and America, among the cultured classes. And what the Russian novelist has done is this: he spoke boldly and fearlessly the most unwelcome truths to the higher and *even to the official classes*—the latter a far more dangerous proceeding than the former. And yet, behold, most of the administrative reforms during the last twenty years are due to the silent and *unwelcome* influence of his pen. As one of his critics remarks, the great truths uttered by him were felt by all classes so vividly and so strongly that people whose views were most diametrically opposed to his own could not but feel the warmest sympathy for this bold writer, and even expressed it to him. . . .

It is writers of this kind that are needed in our day of reawakening; not authors writing for wealth or fame, but fearless apostles of the living Word of Truth, moral healers of the pustulous sores of our century. France has her Zola who points out—brutally enough, yet still true to life—the degradation and moral leprosy of his people. But Zola, while castigating the vices of the lower classes, has never dared to lash higher with his pen than the *petite bourgeoisie*, the

immorality of the higher classes being ignored by him. Result: The peasants who do not read novels have not been in the least affected by his writings, and the *bourgeoisie*, caring little for the *plebs*, took such notice of *Pot bouille* as to make the French realist lose all desire of burning his fingers again at their family pots. From the first then, Zola has pursued a path which, though bringing him to fame and fortune, has led him nowhere in so far as salutary effects are concerned.

Whether Theosophists, in the present or future, will ever work out a practical application of the suggestion is doubtful. To write novels, with a moral sense in them deep enough to stir society, requires a great literary talent and a *born* Theosophist, as was Dostoevsky—Zola standing outside of any comparison with him. But such talents are rare in all countries. Yet, even in the absence of such great gifts, one may do good in a smaller and humbler way by taking note and exposing in impersonal narratives the crying vices and evils of the day, by word and deed, by publications and practical example. Let the force of that example impress others to follow it; and then, instead of deriding our doctrines and aspirations, the men of the twentieth, if not of the nineteenth century, will see clearer, and judge with knowledge and according to facts instead of prejudging agreeably to rooted misconceptions. Then and not till then will the world find itself forced to acknowledge that it was wrong, and that Theosophy alone can gradually create a mankind as harmonious and as simple-souled as Kosmos itself; but to effect this Theosophists have to act as such. Having helped to awaken the spirit in many a man—we say this boldly challenging contradiction—shall we now stop instead of swimming with the TIDAL WAVE?

THE RIGHT WAY OF LIVING

BY BENEDICT DE SPINOZA

Introduction

SPINOZA I find too little known amongst Indians, Englishmen, and Theosophists. Yet he is one of the greatest of western philosophers. On the continent, in my own country of course, but also in Germany and France, he is (at any rate he was, before the Nazis came into power) much better known. Jew by race, Spanish-Portuguese by extraction, Dutch by birth and country of adoption, he wrote in Latin, the language of science in his time, which was the seventeenth century (1632-77), Holland's golden age. For Indians especially he should be of the greatest interest. As Hegel has remarked, he was the first to introduce out-and-out pantheism into western philosophy, indeed to make it the living vein of all his thoughts. Others, before and after him, have as it were dallied with the idea, none is as steeped in it as he. If I were asked to classify his philosophy, I would place it with the Vedānta of the Viśiṣṭādvaita, and with Buddhism of the Vijñānavāda schools. Like the Buddha's Spinoza's aim was fundamentally practical, that is ethical. There are other resemblances, in the deepest reaches of thought, but they cannot be dealt with here. I have been an ardent Spinozian for nearly twenty years, and would like to see his philosophy spread more in these days.

It might bring greater understanding, and thereby peace and happiness to many, and so contribute its share towards general world-peace. As an introduction to his philosophy I here reproduce some pages from the fourth part of his most perfect work, the *Ethica*. It is but a small book, and may be easily mastered by anyone with a studious turn of mind. English translations by A. J. Boyle, and W. Hale Whyte are obtainable respectively in the " Everyman's Library," and from the " Oxford University Press." The following is an independent translation, for which I had much help from Glazemaker's and Gorter's seventeenth century (1677) and nineteenth century (1895) renderings. I have made mine, like the last named, as literal, as I possibly could, but I have also not hesitated here and there to simplify or to elaborate the text, where I thought it would be helpful to an easier comprehension. For my aim is above all to popularize Spinoza. The title (*de recta vivendi ratione*) is taken from the introductory words to the Appendix. The title of the fourth part should in fact be enlarged with it, and so be made to run : " Of man's servitude, the force of his passions, and the right way of living." The Preface and Appendix have been translated completely, the rest in a few short extracts only. The paragraph headings are all mine. If this specimen of Spinozian philosophy raises a cry for more, as I hope it will, for Spinoza is very modern notwithstanding the three centuries separating us from him, I will readily supply the needful.

BHIKKHU ARYA ASANGA

Man's Servitude[1]

When a man is powerless to moderate and master his passions, this impotence is called his servitude. For they command and he obeys. However, not by right is man subject to passions, but by destiny. When in the latter's power, he is often forced, though seeing for himself what is better, to follow what is worse. The cause of this will be here set forth, as also what there is of good and evil in man's passions. But first something must be said about perfection and imperfection.

Perfection and Imperfection

When a man has determined to make something, and has made it perfect, not only he himself will say that it is perfect, but everyone will say so, who rightly knows, or believes he knows, the author's mind and purpose. For example, if someone sees a work not yet completed, and knows the author's purpose is to build a house, he will say that the house is still imperfect. On the other hand, he will say that it is perfect as soon as he sees it brought to an end, or finished as the author had it in mind. But if someone sees a work, and has never seen one similar, nor knows the mind of the workman, then of course he cannot know whether that work is perfect or imperfect. And that seems to have been the first significance of these two words.

General Ideas or Models of Things

But after man had begun to form general ideas, and to think out models of houses, buildings, towers, etc., and to prefer some models to others, it happened that everyone called that perfect which agreed with the general idea he had formed

[1] Preface.

of the thing, and on the contrary that imperfect which he saw agreed less with his idea of the model, though according to the idea of the workman it might very well be fully consummated or accomplished. Nor does it seem to be for any other reason that men commonly also call natural things, namely those not made by human hands, perfect or imperfect. For, of natural as well as of artificial things, men are wont to form general ideas, which they hold for models of things, and which they believe Nature also considers and takes for models. Therefore, when they see something being made in Nature which agrees less with the conception of the model they have of the thing, then they believe that Nature has failed, or has sinned, and has left that thing imperfect. Thus we see that men are used to call natural things perfect and imperfect, more from prejudice than from a true knowledge of them.

God or Nature has no End in View

Nature does not act for an end. For, that eternal and infinite being that we call God or Nature, acts with the same necessity as it exists. For, as it exists by the necessity of its nature, so it acts by that same necessity. The reason or cause, therefore, why God or Nature acts, and why exists, is one and the same. Therefore, as it exists, so it acts, for no principle or end.

Man's Desire final and efficient Cause

That which we call a cause for an end (*finis*), or a final cause, is nothing else than man's desire itself, in so far as it is considered to be the principle or primary cause of a thing. For example, if we say that habitation is the final cause of this or that house, then we certainly understand nothing else

by it than that, from what he imagines to be the comforts of a domestic life, man has had the desire to build a house. Wherefore habitation, in so far as it is considered as a final cause, is nothing else than this single desire, which in truth is the efficient cause, though it is considered as the primal cause, because men are commonly ignorant of the causes of their desires. For, men are indeed conscious of their actions and desires, but ignorant of the causes by which they are determined to desire a thing.

Reality and Perfection the same

Further, what they commonly say, that Nature sometimes fails, or sins, or produces imperfect things, I count these as fictions. Perfection and imperfection, therefore, are in truth only modes of thinking, namely notions which we are in the habit of forming from comparing individual things of the same species or genus with one another, and for the above reason I understand by reality and perfection the same thing.

Imperfection is Negation

For we are wont to bring all individual things in Nature under one genus, which is called the most general notion, namely under the notion of being or reality which belongs absolutely to all individuals of that genus in Nature. In so far, therefore, as we bring all these individuals in Nature under this genus, and compare them with each other, and find that some have more of this being or reality than others, in so far do we say that some are more perfect than others. And in so far as we ascribe to them what involves a negation, as termination, finiteness, impotence, etc., in so far do we call them imperfect, because they do not affect our minds as much

as those which we call perfect, and not because they lack something that should be theirs, or because Nature has sinned. For nothing of any kind belongs by right to Nature except that which follows of necessity from the nature of its efficient cause, and anything which follows from the necessity of the efficient cause, is necessary.

Good and Evil

As regards good and evil, they indicate nothing positive in things when these are considered in themselves. For they too are nothing else but modes of thinking, or notions which we form from comparing things with one another. For, one and the same thing may at the same time be good, evil or indifferent. For example, music is good for a melancholy, bad for a man in mourning, but for the deaf neither good nor bad. But though it is thus with things, still we have to retain these terms in the sense I have explained. By good, therefore, I understand that which we certainly know to be good for us, or to be the means by which we may approach more and more the model of human nature which we have placed before us. But by evil I understand that which we certainly know to hinder our getting possession of what is good, or of the means by which we may reproduce that same model. Further, we shall call men more perfect or imperfect, in so far as they approach more or less that same model. For above all it should be remarked that when I say that a thing passes from lesser to greater perfection, and the reverse, I do not mean that it is changed from one essence or form into another. For a horse, for example, ceases to be, as well when it is changed into a man, as into an insect. But I mean, that its power to act, in so far as it is understood from its own nature, increases or diminishes.

Duration

Finally, by perfection, as I have said, I understand reality, that is the essence of a thing, in so far as it exists and acts in a certain manner, no account being taken of its duration. For, no single thing can be called more perfect, because it has persevered in its existence for a longer time. For, the duration of things cannot be determined from their essence, as the essence of things does not involve any certain and definite time of existence. But anything, whether more perfect or less, can with the same force by which it began its existence, persevere in its existence, so that all things are equal in this respect.

The Dictates of Reason [1]

Because reason demands nothing contrary to Nature, or to one's own nature, therefore it demands that everyone shall love himself, seek what is good for him, that is what is truly good, and desire all that which in truth leads man to greater perfection. It also requires absolutely that everyone shall strive to preserve his being as much as is in him. Which indeed is as necessarily true as that the whole is larger than a part of it. Further, as virtue is nothing else than to act from the laws of one's own nature, and as no one strives to preserve his being except from the laws of his own nature, it follows, *first*, that the foundation of virtue is the same striving to preserve one's own being, and that happiness consists in man's ability to preserve his being. ***Second***, it follows that virtue is the desire for oneself, and that nothing exists which is more excellent or of greater good to us, for which reason we should desire it. ***Third***, it finally follows that those who kill themselves have an impotent spirit. They are altogether overcome by external causes opposed to their nature.

[1] From Sch. to Pro. 18.

Of the greatest Good to Man is Man himself

We can never bring about, that we need nothing outside ourselves to preserve our being, and that we live in such a manner, that we have no commerce with things that are outside ourselves. And if we regard our mind, it is plain that our understanding would be more imperfect if it is alone and does not understand anything except itself. Many, therefore, are the things outside us that are good for us, and which consequently are to be desired. Of these none can be thought more excellent than those which altogether agree with our nature. If for example two individuals of entirely the same nature are mutually bound together, they compose as it were one individual with double the power of each. To man, therefore, nothing is of greater good than man. Men cannot wish anything more excellent to preserve their being, than that all should agree with all in such a way that the minds and bodies of all compose as it were one mind and one body, and that all together should strive to preserve their being as much as they can, and that all together should seek for themselves the common good of all. From this it follows that men who are governed by reason, that is men who, led by reason, seek what is good for them, desire nothing for themselves which they do not desire for the rest of mankind, and therefore that they are just, faithful, and honest. The principle, therefore, that everyone is bound to seek what is good for him, is not the foundation of impiety, as some believe, but on the contrary of virtue and piety.

No one can desire not to exist [1]

Nobody, except when overcome by causes external and opposed to his nature, leaves off to desire what is good for

[1] From Sch. to Pro. 20.

him, or to preserve his being. Nobody, from the necessity of his own nature, but only when forced by external causes, refuses food, or kills himself, which can be done in many ways. For example, some one kills himself, forced by some one else who turns his right hand, holding by chance a sword, and forces that sword to be directed towards his heart; or because by command of a Tyrant he is compelled, like Seneca, to open his veins, that is when he desires to evade a greater by a lesser evil; or finally, because of hidden external causes which dispose his imagination, and affect his body in such a way that the latter takes on another nature, contrary to the former. Of this the idea cannot be in the mind. For, that a man, from the necessity of his own nature, should strive not to exist, or to be changed into another form or essence, is as impossible as that anything could come from nothing.

Every one desires to preserve himself [1]

To strive to preserve oneself, is the first and only foundation of virtue. No other principle prior to this can be conceived, and without it no other virtue can be conceived.

Man is a God to Man [2]

There is no single thing in Nature which is of greater good to man than a man who lives according to the dictates of reason. And when everyone most seeks what is good for him, then are men doing most good to each other. Of these things daily experience furnishes so many and so bright examples, that it is almost on everybody's lips, that man is a God to man. Man alone can give man all he needs. Yet it happens rarely that men live according to the dictates of reason.

[1] From Cor. to Pro. 22.

[2] From Cor. and Sch. to Pro. 35.

It is thus with them, that they are mostly envious and harmful to one another. Nevertheless they are hardly ever able to lead a solitary life, so that to most people the definition that man is a sociable animal, has seemed very attractive And in truth it is thus, that from men's common society arise many more comforts than discomforts. Therefore, let the Satyrists laugh as much as they like at human affairs, and the Theologists detest, and the Melancholy praise as much as they can an uncultured rustic life, condeming men and admiring brutes, yet they will experience that by mutual help men can produce the things they need much easier, and that they cannot avoid the dangers, threatening from all sides, without joint labour, not to mention that it is much more excellent and more worthy of our mind to contemplate men's deeds rather than those of beasts.

The Natural and the Civilized State [1]

Every one exists by the highest right of Nature, consequently by the highest right of Nature every one acts and does those things which follow from the necessity of his nature, and therefore by the highest right of Nature every one judges what is good and what evil, consults his own good from his own nature, revenges himself, and strives to preserve what he loves, and to destroy what he hates. And if man lived by the guidance of reason, everyone would possess this his right without doing any harm to others. But because they are subject to passions which far exceed man's power or virtue, therefore they are often drawn in different directions, and are opposed to one another, whereas they need each other's help. Therefore, in order that men may live in concord, and may be of good to one another, it is necessary that they give up their

[1] From Sch. 2 to Pro. 37.

natural right, and render security to each other that they will do nothing which will bring harm to others. In what manner this may be done, namely so that men who are necessarily subject to passions, and inconstant and variable, may render security to each other, appears from this that no passion can be mastered than by another stronger passion, opposed to the passion which is to be mastered, and that every one abstains from inflicting harm for fear of a greater harm. Upon these laws of Nature, then, is it possible to establish a Society, if it vindicates for itself the right which people have of revenging themselves and of judging what is good and what evil. Which Society, therefore, must have the power to prescribe the common way of living, to make laws, and to support these by penalties. Now, such a Society, established by laws and the power to maintain itself, is called a civilized state, and those who are protected by its right, are called citizens. From which we easily understand that there is nothing in the natural state of things, which by common consent is good or evil. For everyone who is in the natural state, consults only his own good, and decides from his own nature what is good and what evil with regard only to his own good. And he is bound by no law to obey anybody except himself alone, and therefore, in the natural state there is no conception of sin. But, on the other hand, in the civilized state, everywhere and by common consent, it is decided what is good and what evil, and every one is bound to obey the State. Therefore, sin is nothing else than disobedience, which consequently is punished by the right of the State alone, and obedience on the contrary is counted as merit, for even thereby he is judged worthy to enjoy the privileges of the State. Further, in the natural state nobody is by common consent master of anything, nor is there anything in Nature which can be said to

belong to this and not to that man. But everything belongs to everybody. And, therefore, in the natural state there is no conception of any will which is to give to everybody or to take from anybody what is his. That is, in the natural state there is nothing which can be called just or unjust, but otherwise in the civilized state, where it is decided by common consent what belongs to this and what to that man. From which it is evident that justice and injustice, sin and merit, are extrinsic notions, and not attributes expressing the nature of the mind.

Passions of Hate[1]

Hate and ridicule, envy, contempt, anger, revenge, and all other passions belonging to hate, or springing from it, are evil. Whatever we desire because of our being affected by hate, is base, and unjust in the civilized state.

Ridicule and Laughter[2]

Between ridicule and laughter I recognize a great difference. For laughter and mirth are pure joy, and therefore, if they are not in excess, are in themselves good. Nothing in fact but a grim and grievous superstition forbids delight. For how would it be more proper to still hunger and thirst than to drive away sorrow? My reasoning is this, and so have I convinced my mind: No God or any other being, who is without envy, delights in my impotence and discomfort, nor counts our tears, sobs, fears, and other such things which are signs of an impotent spirit, for virtues. But on the contrary, the greater the joy by which we are affected, the greater the perfection to which we are transported, that is, the more we are necessarily partaking of the divine Nature. To make use of

[1] From Pro. 45 and Cor.

[2] From Sch. to Pro. 45.

things, therefore, and as much as possible to delight in them (but not to surfeit, for that is not delight) is a wise man's way. It is the way of a wise man, I repeat, to refresh and to recreate himself with moderate and mild food and drink, as also with scents, agreeable green plants, ornaments, music, exercises, theatres, and other such things, which every one can partake of without harm to others. For man's body is composed of manifold parts of diverse nature, which continually need new and varied nourishment, so that the whole of the body may be equally fit for all those things which may follow from its nature, and consequently the mind also may be equally fit to understand many things at the same time. This way of living, then, is in perfect accord both with our principles and with common practice. Wherefore this way of living is the best of all, and is in every sense to be recommended.

Fight Hate with Love [1]

He who lives by the guidance of reason strives as much as he can to repay the hate, anger and contempt of others towards himself with love or generosity. He who wishes to avenge injuries by returning hate for hate, leads indeed a miserable life. But he, on the other hand, who tries to drive out hate by love, he certainly fights joyfully and confidently, resisting with equal ease many men or one man, and needing little the help of fortune. But those whom he vanquishes, yield joyfully, not from want of strength, but from increase of strength.

Hope and Fear [2]

The passions of hope and fear indicate a defect in our thinking and an impotence of mind, and for this reason also

[1] From Pro. 46 and Sch.

[2] From Sch. to Pro. 47.

carelessness, despondency, exultation and remorse are signs of an impotent mind. For, though carelessness and exultation are passions of joy, yet they suppose that sorrow has gone before, namely hope and fear. Therefore, the more we strive to live by the guidance of reason, the less we strive to depend on hope, but the more to free ourselves from fear, and to rule our destiny as best we can, directing our actions by the sure counsel of reason.

To do well and to rejoice[1]

He who rightly knows that everything follows necessarily from the divine Nature, and happens according to the eternal laws and rules of Nature, he will find nothing which is worth hate, ridicule or contempt, nor will he pity anything. But he will strive, as much as human strength or virtue can bear, *to do well and to rejoice.* Add to this, that he who is easily touched by the passion of commiseration or pity, and moved by another's misery and tears, often does something of which he later repents, as much because in passion we cannot do anything of which we are sure that it is good, as because we may easily be misled by false tears. But here I have particularly in mind a man who lives by the guidance of reason. For he who is by reason nor pity moved to help others, is justly called inhuman. For he seems unlike a human being, having divested himself of all humanity.

The Free Man[2]

A free man thinks of nothing less than of death, and his wisdom is not a contemplation of death but of life. If men were born free, they would not know of good or evil, as long

[1] From Sch. to Pro. 50.
[2] From Pro. 67-73.

as they remain free. The virtue of a free man is seen to be as great in turning aside, as in overcoming dangers. A free man who lives amongst the ignorant tries, so far as possible, to avoid their favours. Free men alone are exceedingly grateful to one another. A free man never acts deceitfully, but always faithfully. The man who is guided by reason, is more free in a State where he lives under the common law, than in solitude where he obeys himself alone.

The Valorous Man [1]

These things of man's true freedom belong to fortitude or valour and to generosity. The valorous man hates nobody, is angry with nobody, envies nobody, is displeased with nobody, despises nobody, and is least of all proud. The valorous man considers this in the first place, that everything follows from the necessity of the divine Nature, and that therefore everything which he thinks to be harmful and evil, and further everything which seems to be impious, dreadful, unjust and base, springs from the fact that he himself knows things only in a disturbed, fragmentary and confused manner. And for this reason he strives above all to understand things as they are in themselves, and to remove the impediments to true knowledge, as for example hate, anger, envy, redicule, pride, and such like things. And therefore, as much as he can, he will try, as we have said, *to do well and to rejoice.*

Actions and Passions [2]

1. All our strivings or desires follow from the necessity of our nature in such a manner that they can be understood

[1] From Sch. to Pro. 73.

[2] Appendix. The division in paragraphs as well as their numbering are taken from the original.

either through our nature alone as their nearest cause, or in so far as we are a part of Nature which in itself, without other such parts or individuals, cannot be adequately conceived.

2. Desires, which follow from our nature in such a manner that they can be understood through our nature alone, are those which regard the mind in so far as it is conceived as consisting of adequate ideas. All other desires do not regard the mind except in so far as it conceives things inadequately, and in so far as their force and increase are not determined by man's power but by things outside us. Therefore, those first desires are rightly called actions, but these other desires are called passions, for those always show our power, and these on the contrary our impotence and partial knowledge.

3. Our actions, that is those desires which are determined by man's power or reason, are always good, but the others may be good as well as evil.

Man's greatest happiness is to know himself

4. In life, therefore, it is of the utmost good to perfect the understanding or reason as much as we can, and in this one thing consists man's greatest happiness or beatitude. For beatitude is nothing else than that acquiescence of the spirit which springs from the intuitive knowledge of God. But to perfect the understanding is also nothing else than to understand God with his attributes and actions, following from the necessity of his Nature. Wherefore the ultimate end of a man guided by reason, that is the highest desire by which he studies to moderate all the other desires, is that by which he is led adequately to know himself and all things which fall within his understanding.

Let understanding be the Law

5. Therefore, there is no rational life without understanding, and things are good only in so far as they help men to enjoy the life of the mind determined by understanding. But on the contrary, the things which hinder man from perfecting his reason and enjoying the rational life, these alone we declare to be evil.

6. But because all those things of which man is the efficient cause, or which are entirely in his power, are of necessity good, therefore nothing evil can befall man except from outside causes, namely in so far as he is a part of the whole of Nature, the laws of which human nature is forced to obey, and to which it has to adapt itself in almost an infinite number of ways.

Intercourse with Others

7. Neither can it be that man is not a part of Nature and does not follow its common order. But if he dwells amongst other such parts, or individuals, who agree with his Nature, then his power of action is helped and fostered. But if on the contrary amongst such there are those who least agree with his nature, then he will hardly be able, and not without great change of himself, to adapt himself to them.

8. Anything that exists in Nature, which we judge to be evil or apt to hinder our ability to exist and to enjoy a rational life, we are allowed to remove from our path in such a manner as seems safest. And anything on the contrary which he judges good or useful for the preservation of our existence and the enjoyment of a rational life, we are allowed to take for our use and to use for ourselves in every way. And absolutely every one is by the highest right of Nature allowed to do that which he judges conducive to his own good or usefulness.

Education of man in a rational life

9. Nothing can agree better with the nature of a thing than other individuals of the same kind. Therefore, there is nothing of greater good to man for the preservation of his existence and the enjoyment of a rational life, than a man who is guided by reason. Further, because amongst single things we know of nothing more excellent than a man who is led by reason, therefore by nothing can anyone show better how much he is worth in skill and talent, than by the education of men in such a way that they live at last by the due reign of reason.

Men are most dangerous

10. In so far as men are borne away by envy, or any other passion of hatred against each other, in so far are they opposed to each other, and are consequently to be feared, and the more so, because they are more powerful than any other single thing or individual in Nature.

Minds are not vanquished by arms

11. Minds, however, are not vanquished by arms, but by love and generosity and bounty.[1]

Friendship is the greatest good

12. It is for men's greatest good to contract friendships and to bind themselves with such bonds as can best make of them all one man, and absolutely to do those things which serve to confirm friendships.

Evil Carping

13. But for this, skill and vigilance is required. For men are changeable (since rare are those who live according

[1] See Par. 17.

to the dictates of reason), and mostly envious, and leaning more to revenge than to compassion. To bear with each one according to his character, and to restrain himself, nor to imitate their passions, requires a singular power of mind. But those who on the contrary know only how to carp at men, and to reprove their vices rather than to teach them virtues, and not to strengthen but to strangle man's spirits, those are harmful both to themselves and to all others. Wherefore many, because of too great impatience of mind and false religious zeal, have preferred to live amongst brute nature rather than amongst men; just as boys or youths who are unable to bear with an equal mind the rebukes of their parents, fly to the army, and choose the discomforts of war, and the reign of tyranny rather than the domestic comforts and the paternal admonitions, and suffer whatever burdens are imposed upon them, if only they may revenge themselves upon their parents.

Concord

14. Though, therefore, men mostly govern all things by desire, yet from their mutual association in a commonwealth or Society follow more advantages than disadvantages. Wherefore it is better to bear their harmful deeds with an equal mind, and to apply zeal to those things which serve the binding together in concord and friendship.

15. The things which engender concord are those which regard justicc, equality, and honesty. For men, besides that which is unjust and iniquitous, bear ill also what is held base, or that anyone should despise the accepted customs of the State. To the binding together in love, however, those things are in the first place necessary, which regard religion and piety.

16. Further, concord is wont to be engendered mostly from fear, but then it is without loyalty. Add to it that fear arises from impotence of mind, and therefore does not belong to the use of reason; neither does pity, though it seems to bear on its face the appearance of piety.

Charity

17. Men are also vanquished by bounty, especially those who have not wherefrom to produce such things as are necessary for the sustenance of life. But still, to give help to every poor far surpasses man's power and the utility of a private person. For the riches of a private man are by a long way insufficient to supply that help. Besides, the power of one man is too limited than that he can bind all in friendship to himself, wherefore the care of the poor is incumbent on the whole community, and concerns the common good.

18. In the acceptance of benefits and the return of thanks, a wholly different course must be taken.[1]

Sensual Love

19. Sensual love, that is the lust to copulate, which arises from the sight of an external form, and absolutely all love which has another cause than freedom of mind changes easily into hate, unless, which is worse, it is a kind of rage, and then discord is fostered rather than concord.

Matrimony

20. As regards matrimony, it is certain that it is in accord with reason if the desire to join the bodies is not engendered solely by the external form, but also by the love to beget children and wisely to educate them, and if, besides,

[1] Consult above, "The Free Man". A. A.

the love of both, of man as well as woman, has as its cause not only the external form, but specially freedom of mind.

Flattery

21. Further, flattery engenders concord, but by the foul crime of slavery, or perfidy; none are more captured by flattery than the proud, who wish to be the first but are not.

Self-abasement or Servility

22. In self-abasement or servility, there is a false appearance of piety and religion. And though abasement is contrary to pride, yet the servile are akin to the proud.

Shame

23. Shame also promotes concord in those things which cannot remain hidden. And because shame is a kind of sorrow, it does not arise from the use of reason.

Other Passions of Sorrow

24. The remaining passions of sorrow for men are directly opposed to justice, impartiality, honesty, piety, and religion. And though censure seems to carry on its face the appearance of impartiality, yet lawlessness is there where every one is allowed to judge of another's deeds, and to take his or another's right in his own hands.

Propriety

25. Propriety, or the desire to please men, when determined by reason, belongs to piety. But if it arises from passion, it is ambition, or the desire by which men, through

false show of piety, generally raise discord and seditions. For, he who wishes to help others by counsel and deeds, so that they may together enjoy the highest good, he will try above all to bind them to himself in love, but not to gain their admiration so that for example a school of thought may be named after him, nor absolutely to give any cause for envy. In common talk, besides, he will take heed not to mention men's vices, and of human impotence he will take care to speak only sparingly, but largely of man's virtue or power, and in what way it may be perfected, so that, not driven by fear or aversion, but wholly by the affects of joy, they may try to live as prescribed by reason.

The Use of Natural Things

26. Besides men, there is no other single being in Nature, in whose mind we can take delight, and whom we can bind to us in friendship or any other kind of bond. Therefore, whatever there is in Nature besides men, our reason does not dictate to preserve it for our good, but teaches us, according to its varied uses, to preserve, or adapt it in every way for our good.

Nourishment

27. Besides the experience and knowledge which we acquire from observing things outside us, and seeing them change into other forms, the good they can further have for us, regards principally the preservation of our body. And for this reason, those things are specially good which can feed and nourish the body, so that all its parts may be able rightly to perform their functions. For, the fitter the body is, so that it can be affected in manifold ways, and can affect outer things in manifold ways, the fitter the mind is to think and

know. But of such kind there appear to be few things in Nature, wherefore, to nourish the body as it behoves, it is necessary to use many aliments of diverse kinds. For the human body is composed of many parts of diverse nature, which need continuous and varied nourishment, so that the whole body may be equally fit for all the things which follow from its nature, and consequently the mind also may be equally fit to think and know manifold things.

Money

28. But to bring these things ahout, the power of one man would hardly suffice, unless men render help to each other. Money has given us a truly compact substitute for all things, wherefore its image is wont greatly to occupy the mind of the common people. For they can scarcely imagine any kind of joy without the accompanying thought of money as the cause.

The Miser

29. But this is really a vice only in those who seek money, not from want, nor from necessity, but because they have learned the arts of gain, in which they greatly exult. For the rest, they feed the body only from habit and sparingly, because they count what is spent on its preservation as so much loss of their goods. But those who know the right use of money, and regulate their measure of wealth solely according to their needs, are content with little.

Excess of Joy

30. Because those things are good which help the bodily parts to fulfil their duty, and joy exists in that which helps or increases the power of man, in so far as he consists of mind and body, therefore are all those things good which bring joy.

But still, because on the other hand things do not exist and act for the end of giving us joy, and their power to act is not tempered according to our good, and finally, because joy is generally most strongly connected with one special part of the body, therefore the passions of joy, and consequently also the desires which spring from them, if reason and heedfulness are absent, generally go to excess, to which is to be added that, because of our passion, we hold that best which is sweet in the present, and cannot with an equal force of passion in our heart appreciate future things.

The Superstition of Sorrow

31. But superstition seems on the one hand to judge that good which gives sorrow, and on the other hand that evil which gives joy. But no being except an envious one, can delight in my impotence and discomfort. For, the greater the joy we experience, the greater the perfection to which we are transported, and consequently the more we partake of the divine Nature. Nor can joy ever be evil when tempered to the right measure of our good. But he, on the other hand, who is led by fear, and does good only to avoid evil, is not guided by reason.

Acquiescence in Adversity

32. But human power is very limited, and is infinitely surpassed by the power of external causes, and therefore we have not the absolute power to fit all things that are outside us to our good. Yet those things which happen to us contrary to what is good for us, we shall bear with equanimity if we are conscious that we have done our duty, and that the power we have could not reach so far as to enable us to avoid them. In which, if we clearly and distinctly understand it, that part

of us which belongs to the understanding, that is our better part, will wholly acquiesce, and strive to preserve itself in that acquiescence. For, in so far as we understand that we are not able to desire anything except that which is necessary, and are not able absolutely to acquiesce except in the truth, in so far therefore as we rightly understand this, so far only is our better part striving in concord with the whole of Nature.

Note. The last sentence has been mistranslated by all translators known to me (Gebhardt, Stern, Saisset, Hale White, Boyle, Gorter, Meyer, Van Suchtelen, and some others) except the oldest, Glazemaker. Gorter seems to be the only one who felt that something was wrong, and who therefore tried a different solution, which however does not seem satisfactory. I follow Glazemaker's translation. The common rendering is: "In so far as we understand, we are not able to desire anything except what is necessary, and are not able absolutely to acquiesce except in the truth." But, whether we understand it or not, the fact is that "we are not able to desire anything except what is necessary", that is what follows of necessity from our nature. So also "we are not able to acquiesce absolutely except in the truth." If however we understand this, then we will not rebel against Nature and that which follows necessarily from her, but will act as much as we can in unison with her, and so find real freedom and happiness.—A.A.

DATE OF RĀMATĪRTHA YATI, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE SAṄKṢEPAS'ĀRĪRAKA

Between A.D. 1525 and 1575

BY P. K. GODE, M.A.

DR. DASGUPTA[1] assigns Rāmatīrtha, the author of the *Anvayaprakās'ikā* (a commentary on the *Saṅkṣepas'ārīraka* of Sarvajñātmamuni to the "*middle of the Seventeenth Century*" *i.e.* to about 1650 A.D. He states in the same context that Rāmatīrtha's *Anvayaprakās'ikā* shows an acquaintance with Madhusūdana's *Advaitasiddhi*. If this statement

[1] *Vide* p. 56 of *HIP* (History of Indian Philosophy), Vol. II (1932)—" Advaitānanda was a disciple of Rāmatīrtha, author of the *Anvayaprakās'ikā* . . . and a disciple of Kṛṣṇatīrtha, a contemporary of Jagannāthās'rama, the teacher of Nṛsiṁhās'rama. Rāmatīrtha's *Anvayaprakās'ikā* shows an acquaintance with Madhusūdana's *Advaitasiddhi*; and he may thus be considered to have lived in the *middle of the seventeenth Century.*"

These remarks may be represented as follows:

कृष्णतीर्थ—contemporary of—जगन्नाथाश्रम

pupil रामतीर्थ	
pupil अद्वैतानंद	pupil नृसिंहाश्रम

On p. 225 Dr. Dasgupta assigns Madhusūdanasarasvatī to " the first half of the Sixteenth Century " (*i.e.* between A.D. 1500 and 1550). *Vide* p. 659 of M. Krishnamāchariar's *Classical Sans. Literature* where Madhusūdana is "*referred to 16—17th Century A.D.*

is correct the date of Rāmatīrtha lies after say about A.D. 1550 as Dr. Dasgupta assigns Madhusūdana Sarasvati to the "*first half of the Sixteenth Century.*"

I propose to prove in this paper that the date "*middle of the Seventeenth Century*" *i.e.* about A.D. 1650 given by Dr. Dasgupta for Rāmatīrtha is not correct as will be seen from the evidence recorded below.

According to Aufrecht[1] Rāmatīrtha, pupil of Kṛṣṇatīrtha, guru of Puruṣottama Mis'ra (*Saṁkṣepas'ārīrakaṭīkā*) composed the following works :

पदयोजनिका उपदेशसाहस्रीटीका

मानसोल्लासवृत्तान्तविलास, a comm. on Sures'vara's मानसोल्लास to S'aṁkarācārya's दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र.

वस्तुतत्वप्रकाशटीका

वाक्यार्थदर्पण

विद्वन्मनोरञ्जिनी वेदान्तसारटीका[2]

संक्षेपशारीरकव्याख्या[3]

स्तुतितरंगटीका (?) NW 502

It appears from the above entries that Rāmatīrtha is the author of (1) अन्वयप्रकाशिका mentioned by Dr. Dasgupta and (2) वेदांतसारटीका called विद्वन्मनोरञ्जिनी etc. The B.O.R. Institute MS. of the विद्वन्मनोरञ्जिनी (No. 129 of A 1883-84) ends :—

वेदान्तसारविवृतिं रामतीर्थाभिधो यतिः ।
चक्रे श्रीकृष्णतीर्थश्रीपदपंकजषट्पदः ॥ २ ॥

इति श्री वेदांतसारटीका विद्वन्मनोरंजनी समाप्ता ॥

[1] *CCI*, 514.

[2] *CCI*, 607—वेदान्तसार—"Comm. विद्वन्मनोरञ्जिनी by Rāmatīrtha yati or Rāmānandatīrtha"; many MSS. are noted here.

[3] *CCI*, 20—"अन्वयार्थप्रकाशिका a Comm. on संक्षेपशारीरक by Rāmatīrtha. Hall, p. 191. *NP*. VIII, 40. Proceed. *ASB*. 1869, p. 135."

I have already pointed out that Rāmatīrtha is posterior to about A.D. 1550 if Dr. Dasgupta's statement of Rāmatīrtha's posteriority to Madhusūdana[1] Sarasvatī is correct. The other terminus to the date of Rāmatīrtha is furnished by the date A.D. 1627 of a MS.[2] of the विद्वन्मनोरञ्जनी in the India Office Library, which ends as follows :

ओं संवत् । १६८३ । वर्षे फाल्गुनवदि २ । वाराणस्यां लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं ॥

If this date is correct, A.D. **1627** or *Saṁvat 1683* is a reliable terminus to the date of Rāmatīrtha and consequently we may assign Rāmatīrtha to a period (A.D. 1550 to 1627). This result of my investigation proves that Dr. Dasgupta's date for Rāmatīrtha *viz.* "middle of the Seventeenth Century" is not warranted by evidence.

Rāmatīrtha commented on the *Vedāntasāra* of Sadānanda. This work was commented on by another commentator Nṛsiṁhasarasvatī in A.D. 1588 (S'aka 1510)[3] and is therefore earlier than A.D. 1588. Dr. Dasgupta[4] states that Sadānanda was a contemporary of Nṛsiṁhās'rama. I have pointed out elsewhere[5] that Nṛsiṁhās'rama composed works in A.D. 1547 and 1558 and hence the period of his literary activity lies between A.D. 1525 and 1575. Sadānanda must,

[1] *Vide* p. 136 of Manuscript Notes in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. V, Pt. 4 (December 1941) where Mr. K. M. K. Sarma assigns माधवसरस्वती the guru of मधुसूदनसरस्वती to "the second half of the fifteenth Century" *i.e.* between A.D. 1450 and 1500. Mr. Sarma rejects the date (A.D. 1540—1647) for मधुसूदन given by Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji (p. 25 of *Siddhāntabindu*, G. O. S. 64, Baroda).

[2] *Vide* p. 750 of *I.O. MSS. Cata. IV* (1894)—MS. 2354 (1128*b*) foll. 22 etc.

[3] *Vide* Aufrecht, *CCI*, 607.

[4] *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (1932), p. 55.

[5] *Vide* my paper on "A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoj Dīkṣita" in the *Annals* (Tirupati) 1940, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 126.

therefore, be assigned to the period (A.D. 1525 and 1575) and as Rāmatīrtha is the commentator of Sadānanda's work he is more near to A.D. 1550 than A.D. 1650, which is the date of Rāmatīrtha according to Dr. Dasgupta.

In the light of the foregoing discussion we may tentatively record the following chronology for Ramatīrtha and others:

A. D.	PARTICULARS
About 1490—1550	कृष्णतीर्थ Contemporary of जगन्नाथाश्रम
Between 1525—1575	pupil रामतीर्थ; pupil नृसिंहाश्रम (A.D. 1547, 1558)
Between 1525—1575	pupil अद्वैतानंद
Between 1525 & 1575	pupil सदानंद
1588	—Nṛsiṁha-Sarasvatī composed his Commentary on Sadānanda's वेदांतसार
1627	—India Office MS. of Rāmatīrtha's Commentary on the वेदांतसार

The purpose of the present paper is to shift Rāmatīrtha's date from the "middle of the *Seventeenth* Century" to the middle of the *Sixteenth* Century and consequently it is needless to enter into any more discussion about the dates of other writers in the above table than what has been already recorded in this paper.

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

THE PRAMĀṆAMAÑJARĪ OF SARVADEVA

BY K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M. O. L.

THOUGH some MSS. of the *Pramāṇamañjarī* of *Sarvadeva* are noticed by Aufrecht (C.C. I, 354b), the work still remains mostly unknown or inaccessible to students of *Vais'eṣika*. There is mention of this neither in Vidyabhushana's *History of Indian Logic* nor in any history of Sanskrit literature written so far. Nothing is known at present about the place and personality of the author *Sarvadeva*. There have been some *Jaina Sarvadevas* (see the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, Baroda, 1937, pp. 39, 324, 342 and 363). In the colophon of a MS. of the present work noticed by Peterson, Report III, p. 266, the author's name bears the suffix '*Sūri*' which is most common among the Jainas. Except these there are no facts to indicate that he was a *Jaina*. On the other hand, the invocation to *Gaṇapati* and *S'iva* at the beginning is against his having been of *Jaina* faith.

The present edition of the work is based on a single MS. deposited with the shelf-number 36. F. 33 in the Adyar Library. A second copy was inaccessible. The MS. in the Adyar Library is written in *Devanāgarī*, on paper. It is old and somewhat damaged. At the end it bears the date *Saṃvat* 1566, *i.e.* A.D. 1509 and mentions *Tri. Devas'arman* of *Bārejapura*, son of *Tri. Sābhā* as the copyist. Sarvadeva has therefore to be assigned to a date earlier than this. Aufrecht (op. cit. p. 354b) notices two commentaries on the work, one by *Advayāraṇyayogin* and the other by *Balabhadrasūri*. Only

one MS. of the former is noticed by Aufrecht. Another, an incomplete one beginning with the *Hetvābhāsas*, is also now available in the Adyar Library (No. 36. F. 35). This latter is at the end dated *Saṃvat* 1571, *i.e.* 1514 A.D. *Advayāraṇya* says that he wrote the commentary to please *Saṃvidāraṇya*. From the date of this MS. it is evident that he must be earlier than the 16th century A.D. and his author *Sarvadeva* still earlier, say, earlier than the 15th century. Of the latter commentary also Aufrecht notices only one MS. Another is noticed in the India Office Catalogue by Eggeling, No. *2075*.

I had first contemplated to edit the commentaries also; but as I found it difficult to get the necessary MSS. under the present conditions, I had to drop the idea. My aim at present is only to give a readable text. I hope to edit the commentaries also when the conditions are better.

प्रमाणमञ्जरी

तार्किकचूडामणिभट्टसर्वदेवविरचिता

कासारतीरसरसीरुहमाददानः शुभ्रं भ्रमद्भ्रमरमध्यमिवेन्दुबिम्बम् ।
द्वैमातुरश्चिरतरं भवतः स पायात्संजातनिर्मलजलप्रतिबद्धनर्मा ॥ १ ॥
अभिवन्द्य विधोरर्धधारिणं च कणव्रतम् ।
प्रमाणमञ्जरी सर्वदेवेन क्रियते मया ॥ २ ॥

अभिधेयः पदार्थः । स भावाभावभेदाद्द्वेधा । पूर्वो विधिविषयः । स षोढा द्रव्यादिभेदेन । तत्र समवायिकारणं द्रव्यम् । तन्नवधा पृथिव्यादिभेदेन । तत्र गन्धवती पृथिवी । सा द्वेधा नित्यानित्यभेदेन । पूर्वा परमाणुरूपा । क्रियावान्नित्यः परमाणुरिति सामान्यलक्षणम् । परमाणुर्गन्धवान्पार्थिवपरमाणुः । उत्तरा द्वेधा नित्यसमवेतान्यथा चेति । पूर्वा द्व्यणुकम् । स्पर्शवन्नित्यसमवेतं द्व्यणुकमिति सामान्यलक्षणम् । गन्धवद्द्व्यणुकं पार्थिवं द्व्यणुकम् । पृथिवीत्वं

नित्यसमवेतवृत्ति घटपटजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति परमाणुद्व्यणुकयोः सिद्धिः। उत्तरा त्रेधा शरीरादिभेदेन। स्पर्शवदिन्द्रियसंयुक्तमेव भोगसाधनं शरीरमिति सामान्यलक्षणम्। गन्धवच्छरीरं पार्थिवं शरीरम्। स्वसमवेतसुखदुःखान्यतरसाक्षात्कारो भोगार्थः। तद्द्विधा योनिजायोनिजभेदेन। पूर्वमस्मदादीनां प्रत्यक्षसिद्धम्। उत्तरं च द्वेधा प्रकृष्टधर्मजमन्यथा चेति। पार्थिवाः परमाणवः पारंपर्येण कदाचित्प्रकृष्टधर्मजायोनिजशरीरारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वादुदकपरमाणुवदित्ययोनिजशरीरसिद्धिः। दुःखभूयस्त्वादधर्मजमुत्तरं मशकादीनाम्। प्रत्यक्षसिद्धं तस्यायोनिजत्वम्। षड्गुणमप्रत्यक्षम्। साक्षात्कारप्रतीतिसाधनमिन्द्रियमिति सामान्यलक्षणम्। गन्धवदिन्द्रियं घ्राणम्। तत्र प्रमाणं पार्थिवाः परमाणवः पारंपर्येण कदाचिदिन्द्रियारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वात्तेजःपरमाणुवत्। स्पर्शवान्शरीरेन्द्रियव्यतिरिक्तः कार्यजातो विषय इति सामान्यलक्षणम्। गन्धवान्विषयः पार्थिवो विषय इष्टकादिः प्रत्यक्षसिद्धः। सा चतुर्दशगुणवती। एवमुत्तरत्र सामान्यलक्षणानुवृत्तौ पदान्तरानुगमेन तत्तत्परमाण्वादीनां लक्षणानि भवन्ति ॥

स्नेहवदम्भः। नित्यमनित्यं च। पूर्वं परमाणुः। उत्तरं च द्वेधा नित्यसमवेतमन्यथा चेति। पूर्वं द्व्यणुकम्। अप्त्वं नित्यसमवेतवृत्ति सरित्समुद्रजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति परमाणुद्व्यणुकयोः सिद्धिः। उत्तरं शरीरादिभेदेन त्रिधा। शरीरे प्रमाणमाप्याः परमाणवः पारंपर्येण कदाचिच्छरीरारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वात्पृथिवीपरमाणुवत्। तच्च शुक्लशोणितसन्निपातनिरपेक्षमाप्यकार्यत्वात्करकादिवत्। तत्प्रकृष्टादृष्टजमयोनिजशरीरत्वान्मशकादिशरीरवत्। सुखभूयस्त्वान्नाधर्मजम्। इन्द्रियं रसनम्। आप्याः परमाणवः पारंपर्येणेन्द्रियारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वात्पृथिवीपरमाणुवदिति तत्र प्रमाणम्। उत्तरो विषयः सरिदादिः। रूपादिचतुर्दशगुणवत्त्वम् ॥

अगुरुत्वे सति रूपवत्तेजः। तन्नित्यानित्यभेदेन द्वेधा। आद्यं परमाणुः। उत्तरं द्वेधा नित्यानित्यसमवायात्। आद्यं द्व्यणुकम्। तेजस्त्वं नित्यसमवेतवृत्ति दीपसुवर्णजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति साधनात्। उत्तरं शरीरादिभेदेन त्रेधा। पूर्वत्र प्रमाणं तैजसाः परमाणवः पारंपर्येण कदाचिच्छरीरारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणु-

त्वात्पृथिवीपरमाणुवत् । तदयोनिजमेव तेजःकार्यत्वाद्दीपवत् । नयनाख्येन्द्रिये तत्र प्रमाणमालोकात्यन्ताभावे जायमानरूपसाक्षात्कारस्तेजःकारको रूपसाक्षात्कारत्वात्सत्यालोके जायमानरूपसाक्षात्कारवत् । तद्गोलकस्थं नयनोन्मीलने सत्येवोपलब्धेः । आलोकाज्ञानं तम इत्याश्रयासिद्धिरिति चेन्न, विधिमुखेन स्वातन्त्र्येण कृष्णाकारेण बहीरूपतया प्रतीतेः । अत एव नालोकाभावः । आलोकाभावस्तम इति वदतोऽपि मते आरोपितरूपप्रतीतेः सत्त्वान्नाश्रयासिद्धिः । तमो न भावरूपमसत्येवालोके चक्षुषा प्रतीयमानत्वादालोकाभाववदिति प्रमाणोपपत्तेः । कृष्णरूपं तमो द्रव्यमिति वदतोऽपि मते रूपप्रतीतेः सत्वान्नाश्रयासिद्धिः । तदतिरिक्तो विषयो भौमादिः । रूपाद्येकादशगुणवत् ।

रूपासहचरितस्पर्शवान्वायुः । स नित्यानित्यभेदेन भिन्नः । पूर्वः परमाणुः । उत्तरो द्वेधा । नित्यसमवेतोऽन्यथा चेति । आद्यो द्व्यणुकम् । वायुत्वं नित्यसमवेतवृत्ति स्पर्शवद्गतद्रव्यत्वावान्तरजातित्वात्पृथिवीत्ववदिति परमाणुद्व्यणुकयोः सिद्धिः । उत्तरं शरीरादिभेदेन त्रेधा भिद्यते । वायुपरमाणवः पारंपर्येण कदाचिच्छरीरारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वात्तेजःपरमाणुवदिति शरीरसिद्धिः । तदयोनिजं वायुकार्यत्वात्त्वगिन्द्रियवत् । वायवीयाः परमाणवः पारंपर्येणेन्द्रियारम्भकाः स्पर्शवत्परमाणुत्वात्तेजःपरमाणुवदिति त्वगिन्द्रियसिद्धिः । तदन्यो विषयः प्रतीयमानवाय्वादिः । त्वगिन्द्रियमरूपिद्रव्यग्राहकमरूपित्वे सति द्रव्यग्राहकेन्द्रियत्वान्मनोवदिति वायोः प्रत्यक्षत्वसिद्धिरिति चेन्न, मूर्तत्वे सति सर्वदास्पर्शवत्त्वस्योपाधित्वात् । विप्रतिपन्नो वायुरप्रत्यक्षो वायुत्वात्त्वगिन्द्रियवत् । स्पर्शादिनवगुणवान् ॥

शब्दवदाकाशम् । तत्र प्रमाणं शब्दोऽष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तसमवेतः समवेतत्वे सति श्रोत्रग्राह्यत्वाच्छब्दवदिति । विप्रतिपन्नाः श्रूयमाणशब्दाश्रयाश्रयाः शब्दत्वाच्छ्रूयमाणशब्दवदित्येकत्वं तस्य सिद्धम् । आकाशं नित्यसमवेतं भावत्वात्समवायवदिति नित्यत्वं तस्य सिद्धम् । तदेवेन्द्रियं श्रोत्रं नाम शब्दोपलब्धिर्भूतेन्द्रियकरणिका रूपशब्दयोरन्यतरसाक्षात्कारत्वाद्रूपसाक्षात्कारवदिति पारिशेष्यात्सिद्धम् । परिशेषस्तु विप्रतिपन्नाः शरीरतदवयवा नयनादयश्च तद्ग्राहका न भवन्ति कार्यत्वाद्घटवदिति । न कालादयस्तद्ग्राहका अजसंयोगनिराकरणात् । शब्दादिषड्गुणकम् ।

विवक्षितपरत्वासमवाय्याश्रयत्वे सति सर्वगतः कालः। विप्रतिपन्नं मनो विवक्षितपरत्वासमवाय्याश्रयसंयुक्तं द्रव्यत्वादात्मवदिति तत्र प्रमाणम्। अनियतपरत्वासमवाय्याश्रयत्वे सति सर्वगता दिक्। विप्रतिपन्नं मनो ऽनियतपरत्वासमवाय्याश्रयसंयुक्तं द्रव्यत्वादात्मवदिति तत्र प्रमाणम्। मनसा संयुक्तं मनः सर्वदा विशेषगुणरहितद्रव्यद्वयसंयुक्तं द्रव्यत्वादात्मवदिति दिक्कालयोः प्रमाणम्। अत्र द्रव्यद्वितये कल्पिते ऽन्यत्र तेनैव व्यवहारसिद्धावनन्तकल्पनायां प्रमाणाभावः। दिक्कालौ द्रव्यत्वावान्तरजातिरहितौ बुद्ध्यनाधारत्वे सति सर्वगतत्वादाकाशवदित्येकत्वं सिद्धम्। विप्रतिपन्नं सर्वं दिक्कालकार्यं संप्रतिपन्नवदिति तयोः सर्वकार्यनिमित्तत्वम्। आकाशकालदिशः सर्वगता मनोव्यतिरिक्तत्वे सति सर्वदास्पर्शवद्द्रव्यत्वादात्मवदिति सर्वगतत्वम्। संख्यादिपञ्चगुणवत्त्वं कालदिशोः।

बुद्ध्याश्रय आत्मा। स द्वेधेशानीशभेदात्। पूर्वत्र प्रमाणमात्मत्वं नित्यविशेषगुणवद्वृत्त्यात्मजातित्वात्सत्तावत्। ईशज्ञानं नित्यमनन्तकार्यत्वात्कालवदिति तज्ज्ञानं नित्यम्। विप्रतिपन्नं सर्वं कार्यं विवक्षितज्ञानजं कार्यत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदित्यनन्तहेतुत्वं सिद्धम्। तज्ज्ञानमाश्रयव्यापि नित्यगुणत्वात्पाथोऽणुरूपवदित्याश्रयव्यापित्वं ज्ञानस्य सिद्धम्। अत एव तदिच्छाप्रयत्नावाश्रयव्यापिनौ। उत्तरत्र प्रमाणं भोगः क्वचिदाश्रितो गुणत्वाद्रूपवत्। न कार्याणि तद्वन्ति कार्यत्वाद्घटवत्। न श्रोत्रादि तद्वत्करणत्वाद्दण्डवत्। भोगो गुणो ऽनित्यत्वे सत्यचाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षत्वाद्गन्धवदिति हेतुसिद्धिः। अस्मदाद्यात्मा द्रव्यत्वावान्तरजातिमांश्चतुर्दशगुणवत्त्वात्पाथोवत्। आत्मशब्दो नैकवाचक आत्मवाचकत्वात् 'स'-शब्दवदिति नानात्वम्। मच्छरीरान्तराणि मूर्तानि मदात्मसंयुञ्जि मूर्तत्वान्मच्छरीरवदिति व्यापकत्वं तस्य। ईशो ऽपि सर्वगत आत्मत्वाद्देहिवत्। स नित्यः सर्वगतत्वात्कालवत्। स बुद्ध्यादिचतुर्दशगुणवान्॥

मूर्तत्वे सति सर्वदा स्पर्शशून्यं मनः। सुखज्ञानमिन्द्रियजमनित्यज्ञानत्वाद्रूपज्ञानवदिति तत्र प्रमाणम्। मनो ऽणवात्मसंयोगित्वे सति निरवयवत्वात्परमाणुवदिति मूर्तत्वं सिद्धम्। अजसंयोगनिराकरणान्न सर्वगतेन व्यभिचारः। संख्याद्यष्टगुणकम्। इति द्रव्यपदार्थः॥

कर्मान्यत्वे सति सामान्यैकाश्रयो गुणः । स रूपादिभेदेन चतुर्विंशतिधा । नयनैकग्राह्यजातिमद्रूपम् ॥ रसनैकग्राह्यजातिमान्रसः ॥ घ्राणैकग्राह्यजातिमान्गन्धः ॥ स्पर्शनैकग्राह्यजातिमान्स्पर्शः ॥ एते यावद्द्रव्यभाव्ययावद्द्रव्यभाविभेदाद्द्वेधा । पार्थिवपरमाणोरन्यत्र यावद्द्रव्यभाविनः प्रत्यक्षद्रव्ये प्रत्यक्षतस्तथा सिद्धाः । द्व्यणुकादिषु यावद्द्रव्यभाविनः कार्यरूपादित्वात्पटरूपादिवत् । सलिलादिपरमाणुरूपादयो यावद्द्रव्यभाविनः सलिलादिरूपादित्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवत् । पार्थिवपरमाणौ च यावद्द्रव्यभाविनः । तत्र प्रमाणं पार्थिवपरमाणौ सति रूपादयो निवर्तन्ते ऽनित्यत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदिति । पार्थिवं द्व्यणुकमनित्यविशेषगुणवत्समवेतं पार्थिवकार्यत्वात्पटवदिति नासिद्धसाधनम् । हुतवहालीढे महीखण्डे पूर्वरूपविलक्षणरूपादिदर्शनात्तत्रैवंकल्पने नातिप्रसङ्गः । तत्र पार्थिवपरमाणुरग्निसंयोगासमवायिकारणविशेषगुणाश्रयो ऽनित्यविशेषगुणवत्त्वे सति नित्यभूतत्वादाकाशवदिति पाकजत्वं तेषां सिद्धम् ॥ गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या द्व्यणुकपरिमाणासमवायिकारणसजातीया संख्या । सा द्वेधा यावद्द्रव्यभाव्ययावद्द्रव्यभाविभेदात् । पूर्वत्र प्रमाणं परिमाणत्वं संयोगातिरिक्तानेकद्रव्यासमवायिकारणवृत्ति परिमाणजातित्वात्सत्तावत् । परमाणुपरिमाणमसमवायिकारणं न भवति नित्यपरिमाणत्वादाकाशपरिमाणवदिति परपक्षव्युदासः । द्वित्वमयावद्द्रव्यभाव्यनेकगुणत्वात्संयोगवत् । द्वित्वसामान्यं बुद्धिजवृत्ति द्वित्वजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति बुद्धिजत्वम् । उत्तरत्र प्रमाणं संख्यात्वं यावद्द्रव्यभाविवृत्ति द्वित्वत्रित्वजातित्वात्सत्तावत् । तदेवैकत्वम् । संख्या गुणः सामान्यैकाश्रयत्वे सत्यकर्मत्वाद्रूपवदिति परपक्षव्युदासः । एवंभूतायाः संख्यायाः पदार्थान्तरत्वे स्वीकृते रूपमपि पदार्थान्तरं भवेत् ॥ गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या पृथक्त्वान्याप्रत्यक्षात्मगतयावद्द्रव्यभाविसजातीयं परिमाणम् । आत्मा पृथक्त्वान्याप्रत्यक्षयावद्द्रव्यभाविगुणवान्सर्वगतत्वाद्दिग्वत् । सर्वं द्रव्यं परिमाणाधिकरणं द्रव्यत्वादात्मवत् । तच्चतुर्विधमणुमहद्दीर्घह्रस्वभेदात् । द्व्यणुके ऽणुत्वमङ्गीकृत्य ह्रस्वत्वं निराकुर्वाणं प्रतीदमनुमानम् । द्व्यणुकमणुपरिमाणातिरिक्तपरिमाणाधिकरणं कार्यद्रव्यत्वाद्घटवत् । दीर्घत्वमनङ्गीकुर्वाणं प्रतीदमनुमानम् । घटो महत्त्वव्यतिरिक्तपरिमाणाधिकरणं कार्यद्रव्यत्वाद्द्व्यणुकवत् ॥ संख्यातिरिक्तदिक्कालगतात्यन्तसजातीयं पृथक्त्वम् । तद्द्वेधा यावद्द्रव्यभाव्य-

यावद्द्रव्यभाविभेदात् । कालः संख्यातिरिक्तदिग्गतगुणवान्द्रव्यात्वाद्धटवदित्य-
यावद्द्रव्यभाविपृथक्त्वसिद्धिः । पृथक्त्वसामान्यमस्मदादिबुद्धिजवृत्ति पृथक्त्व-
जातित्वात्सत्तावदिति बुद्धिजत्वं सिद्धम् । तत्सामान्यं कारणगुणपूर्ववृत्ति पृथक्त्व-
जातित्वात्सत्तावत् । तत्सामान्यं यावद्द्रव्यभाविवृत्ति द्वित्रिपृथक्त्वजातित्वात्सत्ता-
वदित्येकपृथक्त्वसिद्धिः ॥ गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या द्रव्यासमवायिकारणसजातीयः सं-
योगः । तत्र प्रमाणं संयोगपदं सद्वाच्यं वाचकत्वात्स्वलक्षणपदवदिति परिशेषात् । स
त्रिविधो ऽन्यतरकर्मजोभयकर्मजसंयोगजभेदात् । तत्रोभयं प्रसिद्धम् । तृतीये प्रमाणं
संयोगत्वं संयोगासमवायिकारणवृत्ति संयोगजातित्वात्सत्तावत् । विप्रतिपन्ना आत्मा-
दय आकाशेन न संयुज्यन्ते सर्वगतत्वादाकाशवदित्यजसंयोगनिरासः । अयाव-
द्द्रव्यभावित्वं प्रसिद्धं प्रत्यक्षसिद्धम् ॥ संयोगविरोधी गुणो विभागः । तत्र प्रमाण-
माकाशः संयोगातिरिक्तकर्मजगुणाधारो द्रव्यत्वाच्छरीरवत् । विप्रतिपन्नं सर्वं द्रव्यं
विभागवद्द्रव्यत्वादाकाशवत् । स द्विविधः कर्मजविभागजभेदात् । आद्यो द्वेधा-
न्यतरकर्मजोभयकर्मजभेदात् । तत्र प्रमाणं विभागत्वमेकानेककर्मासमवायिकारणवृत्ति
विभागजातित्वात्सत्तावत् । विभागत्वमक्रियाजवृत्ति विभागजातित्वात्सत्तावत् ।
विभागजविभागसिद्धिस्तु परिशेषात् । विभागत्वं विभागासमवायिकारणवृत्ति
विभागजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति च मानम् ॥ परव्यवहारे यद्विशेषणतया निमित्तं
तत्परत्वम् । अपरव्यवहारे यद्विशेषणतया निमित्तं तदपरत्वम् । तत्र प्रमाणं
घटो ऽस्मदादिबुद्धिजैकद्रव्यजातीयवाननेकविशेषगुणसमवायिकारणत्वादात्मवत् ।
विप्रतिपन्नं परत्वादि संयोगासमवायिकारणकमस्मदादिबुद्धिजैकद्रव्यत्वात्सुखवदिति
पारिशेष्याद्दिक्कालपिण्डसंयोगासमवायिकारणत्वं सिद्धमनयोः ॥ अथ विग्रहो
बुद्धिः । सा द्वेधा नित्यानित्यभेदेन । पूर्वा भगवतो महेश्वरस्य । सा परीक्षि-
तात्मप्रकरणे । उत्तराप्यनीशानां मानसप्रत्यक्षसिद्धा । सा द्वेधा विद्याविद्या-
भेदात् । बाधिता धीरविद्या । सा द्वेधा निश्चयानिश्चयभेदात् । तत्र पूर्वो
विपर्ययः । तत्र प्रमाणं विवादपदं रजतधीःपदं रजतेच्छुप्रवृत्तिविषयत्वा-
त्सम्यग्रजतवत् । उत्तरः संशयः । इदमेवमाहोस्विन्नैवमिति व्यवहारो व्यवहार्य-
ज्ञानपूर्वको व्यवहारत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदिति तत्र प्रमाणम् । अनध्यवसायस्येहान्त-
र्भावः । स्वप्नस्य विपर्यये । अबाधिता धीर्विद्या । सा द्वेधा प्रमितिरन्यथा चेति ।

सम्यगनुभूतिः प्रमितिः । सा द्वेधा प्रत्यक्षेतरा चेति । तत्रापरोक्षा सा प्रत्यक्षा परोक्षा सेतरा चेति । पुनर्द्वेधा प्रकृष्टधर्मजेतरभेदात् । पूर्वं योगिप्रत्यक्षम् । तत्र प्रमाणं धर्मः कस्यचित्प्रत्यक्षः प्रमेयत्वाद्वांसीवत् । यस्य स प्रत्यक्षः स योगी । उत्तरास्मदादीनां प्रत्यक्षम् । सापि प्रकारान्तरेण द्वेधा सविकल्पकनिर्विकल्पकभेदात् । विशिष्टविषयं सविकल्पकम् । तत्प्रमाणं स्मृतिव्यतिरिक्तत्वे सत्यबाधितबुद्धित्वान्निर्विकल्पकवत् । वस्तुस्वरूपमात्रावभासकं निर्विकल्पकम् । ज्ञानानां सविकल्पकत्वाद्दृष्टान्तासिद्धिरिति चेन्न, प्रमाणोपपत्तेः । सर्वे विकल्पा ज्ञानव्यावृत्तजातिमन्तो जातिमत्त्वात्पटवत् । उत्तरा लैङ्गिकी । लिङ्गं पुनः साध्याव्यभिचारित्वे सति पक्षधर्मवत् । तद्द्वेधा भिद्यते ऽन्वयव्यतिरेकभेदात् । यस्य साध्येन साहचर्यनियमस्तदन्वयि । तद्द्वेधा सति विपक्षेऽसति च । पूर्वमन्वयव्यतिरेकि । तद्यथा निनादो ऽनित्यः कृतकत्वात् । यदेवं तदेवं यथा रथः । तथा चेदम् । तस्मात्तथा । यदनित्यं न भवति तत्कृतकमपि न भवति । यथाकाश इति । न चेदं न तथा । तस्मान्न च न तथेति । उत्तरं केवलान्वयि । यथा स्थितिस्थापकः प्रत्यक्षः प्रमेयत्वात् । यदेवं तदेवम् । यथा पृथिवी । तथा च प्रकृतम् । तस्मात्तथा । असति पक्षे यस्य साध्याभावे ऽभावनियमस्तद्व्यतिरेकि । यथा सर्वं कार्यं सर्ववित्कर्तृपूर्वकं कार्यत्वात् । न यदेवं न तदेवम् । यथा परमाणुः । न च तथेदम् । तस्मान्न तथेति । लिङ्गलक्षणरहिता लिङ्गवदभिभासमानविषया लिङ्गाभासाः । ते चासिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकासाधारणबाधितविषयसत्प्रतिपक्षभेदाः षट्प्रकाराः । तत्र पक्षधर्मतया ज्ञातो ऽसिद्धो यथा शब्दो ऽनित्यश्चाक्षुषत्वादिति । पक्षविपक्षयोरेव वर्तमानो विरुद्धो यथा नित्यः शब्दः श्रोत्रग्राह्यत्वादिति । पक्षत्रयवृत्तिरनैकान्तिको यथा शब्दो ऽनित्यः प्रमेयत्वादिति । सपक्षविपक्षव्यावृत्तः पक्षे वर्तमानो ऽनध्यवसितो यथा पृथिवी नित्या गन्धवत्त्वादिति । प्रमाणविरोधो बाधितविषयो यथानुष्णोऽग्निः प्रमेयत्वादिति । समबलविरुद्धहेतुद्वयसमावेशः सत्प्रतिपक्षो यथा शब्दो नित्यः श्रोत्रग्राह्यत्वादित्युक्ते न नित्यः सामान्यवत्त्वे सत्यस्मदादिबाह्येन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वादिति षोढा व्यूढः । शेषं भाष्ये । वाक्याद्वाक्यार्थधीरसन्निहितविषये । असतो गृहे जीवतो बहिर्भावबुद्धिरनुमितिः प्रत्यक्षेतरप्रमितित्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवत् । सन्निहितविषयाभावप्रमा प्रत्यक्षजानुमित्यन्य-

प्रमितित्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदित्यन्तर्भावः। शेषं भाष्ये। उत्तरा स्मृतिः। सा प्रमा स्वविषये प्रत्यक्षानुमानान्यत्वाद्विपर्ययवदिति सिद्धा विद्या ॥ यस्मिन्ननुभूयमाने तत्साधनेष्वभिष्वङ्गस्तत्सुखम्। यस्मिन्ननुभूयमाने तत्साधने द्वेषस्तद्दुःखम्। ते बुद्धिजे तदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायित्वात्। यदेवं तदेवम्। यथा घटः। तथा च प्रकृतम्। तस्मात्तथा ॥ प्रार्थनेच्छा। सा द्विधा नित्यानित्यभेदेन। महेश्वरस्य नित्येशविशेषगुणत्वात्तद्बुद्धिवद्विप्रतिपन्नानि कार्याणीशेच्छाजन्यानि जन्यत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदिति सर्वोत्पत्तिमन्निमित्तत्वमीशेच्छायाः। अनित्यानीशानामनीशविशेषगुणत्वात्तद्बुद्धिवत् ॥ रोषो द्वेषः। सो ऽनित्यो ऽनीशविशेषगुणत्वात्तद्बुद्धिवत्। बुद्धिजत्वं तदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायित्वादिति ॥ गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या बुद्धीच्छान्येश्वरविशेषगुणगतसामान्याधारः प्रयत्नः। सो ऽस्मदादीनां प्रत्यक्षः। ईशस्य तु पुरुषत्वात्सिद्धः। स नित्यानित्यभेदेन द्वेधा। नित्यः सर्वज्ञस्य तद्विशेषगुणत्वात्तद्बुद्धिवत्। अनित्यो द्वेधेच्छाद्वेषान्यतरपूर्वको जीवनपूर्वकश्चेति। पूर्वो मानसप्रत्यक्षसिद्धः। उत्तरो ऽनुमानसिद्धः। सुप्तस्य प्राणक्रियास्मदादिप्रयत्नजा प्राणक्रियात्वाज्जाग्रत्प्राणक्रियावदिति ॥ आद्यपतनासमवायिकारणात्यन्तसजातीयं गुरुत्वम्। तत्र प्रमाणं प्रथमपतनमसमवायिकारणपूर्वकं क्रियात्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदिति। परिशेषाद्गुरुत्वसिद्धिः। द्रुतं सर्पिर्यावद्द्रव्यभाव्यतीन्द्रियवच्चतुर्दशगुणवत्त्वाद्बहुविशेषगुणवत्त्वादात्मवदिति मानद्वयम्। तत्रान्यस्यासंभवात्। घटगुरुत्वं यावद्द्रव्यभाव्यक्रियाजन्यत्वे सत्यबुद्धिजन्यत्वे सति घटसमवेतत्वाद्घटसमवेतरूपवत्। एवं सर्वत्र घटगुरुत्वदृष्टान्तेन यावद्द्रव्यभावित्वम्। अत एव कारणगुणपूर्वकत्वं साधनीयं घटदृष्टान्तेन। घटगुरुत्वमप्रत्यक्षं गुरुत्वात्परमाणुगुरुत्ववत् ॥ आद्यस्यन्दनासमवायिकारणात्यन्तसजातीयं द्रवत्वम्। तद्द्वेधा नित्यानित्यभेदेन। सलिलपरमाणुषु नित्यम्। तत्र प्रमाणं सलिलद्व्यणुकं यावद्द्रव्यभावि द्रवत्ववत्समवायिकार्यकार्यत्वे सति सलिलत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवत्। पार्थिवतैजसपरमाणुषु द्रवत्वमनित्यमसलिलद्रवत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नवदितीतरसिद्धिः। पार्थिवपरमाणवो रूपादिचतुष्टयातिरिक्ताग्निसंयोगजैकद्रव्यगुणयोगिनो ऽनित्यविशेषगुणवत्त्वे सति नित्यभूतत्वादाकाशवदिति परिशेषादग्निसंयोगजत्वं द्रवत्वस्य सिद्धम्। तेजःपरमाणुषु द्रवत्वमग्निसंयोगजमुदकत्वानधिकरणत्वे सति परमाणुद्रवत्वात्पार्थिवपरमाणुद्रवत्व-

वत् ॥ घनोपलगतद्वीन्द्रियग्राह्यविशेषगुणात्यन्तसजातीयः स्नेहः । स च यावद्द्रव्यभाव्यम्भोविशेषगुणत्वात्तद्रूपवत् ॥ परगतविशेषानपेक्षया पृथिव्यादीनामन्योन्यव्यवच्छेदको गुणो विशेषगुणः ॥ गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या वेगसजातीयः संस्कारः । स त्रेधा वेगादिभेदेन । क्रियासमवायिकारणैकद्रव्यात्यन्तसजातीयो वेगः । दीपत्वं क्रियासमवायिकारणैकद्रव्यसमानानधिकरणं स्पर्शवज्जातित्वात्सत्तावदिति वेगसिद्धिः । स द्वेधा वेगजः क्रियाजश्चेति । वेगत्वं वेगासमवायिकारणवृत्ति वेगजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति वेगजसिद्धिः । वेगत्वं कर्मासमवायिकारणवृत्ति वेगजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति कर्मजवेगसिद्धिः । यावद्द्रव्यभावी संस्कारः स्थितिस्थापकः । सुवर्णं यावद्द्रव्यभाव्यतीन्द्रियवद्धनावयवत्वात्सूर्यवदिति तत्सिद्धिः । संस्कारः पुरुषगुणो भावना । संस्कारत्वं पुरुषगुणवृत्ति स्थितिस्थापकवेगजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति भावनासिद्धिः । अतीन्द्रियः पुरुषैकवृत्तिः सुखहेतुर्धर्मः । अतीन्द्रियः पुरुषैकवृत्तिर्दुःखहेतुरधर्मः । तत्र प्रमाणं विमतं मूर्तद्रव्यचलनं पुरुषगुणकारितं क्रियात्वात्कलेवरचलनवत् ॥ श्रोत्रैकग्राह्यजातिमान् शब्दः । सो ऽनित्यो महाभूतविशेषगुणत्वाद्धटवद्रूपवदित्यनित्यत्वसिद्धिस्तस्य । शब्दो गुणः कर्मान्यत्वे सति सामान्यैकाश्रयत्वाद्रूपवदिति नासिद्धो हेतुः । शब्दो नित्यो ऽपाकजनित्यभूतविशेषगुणत्वात्सलिलपरमाणुरूपवदित्यन्वयव्यतिरेकिणा सत्प्रतिपक्ष इति चेन्न, अस्य दूषणस्य वचनीयत्वाभावादपसिद्धान्तात् । को ऽयं व्यतिरेको ऽस्य हेतोः । किं विपक्षाभावो ऽन्यो वा । नाद्यो ऽपसिद्धान्तप्रसङ्गात् । अन्यश्चेद्विविच्य वाच्यः । दृश्ये प्रतियोगिनि हेतोः स्मर्यमाणविपक्षोपलम्भस्ततो व्यावृत्तिरिति चेन्न, अनुभूयमाने तस्मिन्विपक्षे पश्यतो ऽयं हेतुर्न स्यात् । ततो ऽननुभूयमाने तस्मिन्विपक्षोपलम्भस्ततो व्यावृत्तिरितिचेन्न, मेयत्वादीनां गमकत्वप्रसङ्गादनैकान्तिकोच्छेदप्रसङ्गादनुमितावनुमानोच्छेदप्रसङ्गाच्च । ततो व्यतिरेकासिद्धिः । विपक्षहेतुविशेषणे दूषणमिदमूह्यम् । तस्मात्पूर्वो हेतुरेव । शब्दस्य द्रव्यत्वसाधकप्रमाणमप्रमाणं निरवयवेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वं साक्षादिन्द्रियसम्बन्धेन प्रतीयमानत्वं व्यर्थविशेषणं मन्तव्यम् । स त्रिविधः संयोगजादिभेदात् । शब्दत्वं संयोगसमवायिकारणवृत्ति शब्दजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति संयोगजशब्दसिद्धिः । शब्दत्वं विभागासमवायिकारणवृत्ति शब्दजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति विभागजशब्दसिद्धिः । शब्दत्वं गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या

सजातीयारभ्यवृत्ति शब्दजातित्वात्सत्तावदिति शब्दजशब्दसिद्धिः ॥ इति प्रमाणमञ्जर्यां गुणपदार्थो द्वितीयः ॥

एकद्रव्यविभागासमवायिकारणसजातीयं कर्म। तत्प्रत्यक्षं प्रमेयत्वाद्घटवदिति तस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वम्। घटकर्मास्मदादिप्रत्यक्षं गुणान्यत्वे सति घटसमवेतत्वात्सत्तावदिति। अस्मदादिप्रत्यक्षं यत्सत्तत्क्षणिकं यथान्त्यशब्दः। सन्तश्चामी भावा इति। क्षणद्वयस्थित्यभावादारम्भकत्वाननुपपत्तिः कर्मण इति चेन्न, विकल्पानुपपत्तेः। तथा हि क्षणे भवः क्षणिकः। तस्य भावः क्षणिकत्वम्। आद्ये कल्पे सिद्धसाधनम्। स्थायित्वपक्षे ऽपि तत्संभवात्। न द्वितीयो व्यावृत्तावनेकान्तात्। अथ भावाद्भिन्ना व्यावृत्तिर्नास्तीति चेन्न, व्यावृत्तावसत्यां स्वलक्षणानां क्षणिकत्वेनाविनाभावस्याशक्यग्रहत्वादभ्युपगतस्यानुमानस्याभावप्रसङ्गादपसिद्धान्तप्रसङ्गाच्च। तस्मात्सत्त्वं न क्षणिकत्वे प्रमाणम्। स्थायित्वं तु विप्रतिपन्नं कर्म स्वोत्पत्तिक्षणोत्तरक्षणे सत्सत्वासंप्रतिपन्नवदिति कर्मपदार्थस्तृतीयः।

नित्यमनुगतं सामान्यम्। तत्र प्रमाणं प्रत्यक्षम्। अथैतत्कल्पनाज्ञानमिति चेन्न, कल्पनात्वस्य विकल्पानुपपत्तेः। तथा हि किं निर्विषयत्वं कल्पनात्वं किं वा शब्दसंपृक्तार्थप्रतिभासकत्वमाहोस्वित्स्मरणानन्तरभावित्वमिति। नाद्य इदमित्यबाधितधीविषयत्वात्। नापि द्वितीय आर्थशब्दाभावात्। भावे सर्वस्य श्रोत्रपरिच्छेद्यत्वं स्यात्। शब्दस्य वा श्रोत्रेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वं प्रसज्येत। न तृतीय इन्द्रियसंनिकर्षानुविधायिनो बोधस्य स्मृत्यनन्तरभावित्वे ऽपि विरोधाभावात्। रूपस्मरणजननानन्तरमुपजातस्य रससाक्षात्कारस्याभ्युपगतप्रामाण्यस्याप्रामाण्यप्रसङ्गात्सामान्यानभ्युपगमे लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोरविनाभावस्य दुर्ज्ञानत्वादनुमानस्यानुत्थानं न स्याद्धूमधूमध्वजानामनन्तानामुपसंग्राहकाभावात्। अथ मतं वस्तुभूतं सामान्यं नास्ति तथापि अतद्व्यावृत्तेः सामान्यस्य विद्यमानत्वात्तदुपसंग्रहादनुमानं प्रवर्तेत इति चेन्न, व्यावृत्तेरवस्तुत्वादुपसंग्राहकत्वाभावात्। तस्माद्वस्तुभूतं सामान्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम्। तत्परमपरं च। तत्र परं सत्ता त्रिवर्गान्तर्गतत्वात्। तत्र प्रमाणं कर्म शाबलेयसजातीयं कार्यत्वाद्बाहुलेयवत्। कार्यगुणः कर्मव्यावृत्तजातिमान्कार्यत्वात्तुरगवदिति गुणत्वसिद्धिः। कर्म गुणव्यावृत्तजातिमत्कार्यत्वादेवालयवदिति कर्मत्वसिद्धिः। कर्मगुणव्यावृत्तजातिमन्तः स्पर्शवत्त्वाद्गोवदिति पृथिवीत्वादिसिद्धिः। आत्मा द्रव्यत्वावान्तरजातिमांश्चतुर्दशगुणवत्त्वादुदकवदित्यात्म-

सिद्धिः। मनो द्रव्यत्वावान्तरजातिमज्ज्ञानासमवायिकारणाश्रयत्वादात्मवदिति मनसः सिद्धिः। कार्यरूपं रसादिव्यावृत्तजातिमत्कार्यत्वाद्गोवदिति रूपत्वसिद्धिः। एवं सर्वत्र रसादिष्ववगन्तव्यम्। उत्क्षेपणादिषु च। इति सामान्यपदार्थश्चतुर्थः॥

निःसामान्य एकैनैव समवायी विशेषः। तत्र प्रमाणं मनो मनोऽन्तरव्यावृत्तं निःसामान्यसमवायिद्रव्यत्वाद्गोवदिति। नित्या आकाशादयो विशेषवन्तो नित्यद्रव्यत्वान्मनोवत्। स नित्यः सति जातिशून्यत्वाद्गोत्ववदिति तत्र प्रमाणम्॥ इति विशेषपदार्थः पञ्चमः॥

समवायोऽस्मदाद्यप्रत्यक्षः परमाणुसंबद्धत्वात्तत्संयोगवदिति। स नित्यः सत्त्वे सत्यसमवेतत्वात्परमाणुवत्। विवादमापन्नाः समवायप्रत्ययाः देवदत्तसमवायप्रत्ययेनाभिन्नविषयाः समवायप्रत्ययत्वात्संप्रतिपन्नसमवायप्रत्ययवदिति समवायैकत्वसिद्धिः॥ इति समवायपदार्थः षष्ठः॥

भावनिषेधोऽभावः। स द्वेधा। जन्योऽजन्यश्च। प्रथमः प्रध्वंसः। उत्तरो द्वेधा। विनाश्यन्यथा चेति। आद्यः प्रगभावः। उत्तरो द्वेधा। समानाधिकरणनिषेधोऽन्यथा चेति। पूर्व इतरेतराभावः। उत्तरोऽत्यन्ताभावः। नात्र प्रभाकरं प्रति प्रमाणमभिधानीयं निष्प्रमाणनिर्वाणाङ्गीकरणात्। धिषणानिर्वाणं हि निद्रा। उपनिबन्धकादृष्टक्षयात्कलेबरनिलयो मरणम्। निखिलात्मगुणविलयो निर्वाणम्। अथ कथयसि त्वं दृश्ये प्रतियोगिनि ज्ञायमाने केवलाधिकरणोपलम्भ एव निद्रादिरिति। मैवं वोचो विकल्पासहत्वात्। दृश्यस्य प्रतियोगि विज्ञानम्। किं सुप्तस्य किं वा यस्य कस्यचिदाद्ये कल्पः प्रबुद्धः स्यात्। न द्वितीयः परनरगतसंवित्तेः परनरेण प्रत्यक्षेण ज्ञातुमशक्यत्वात्। परस्य यथा द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायाभावाः सदैव। कथं विज्ञानमस्तीति चेन्न, परमाणुगुणानां यथाकथञ्चिदवगतायां निषेधप्रसङ्गात्। तस्मादभावोऽङ्गीकर्तव्यः। तत्रापि मोक्षे प्रमाणमात्मा कदाचिदशेषविशेषगुणशून्योऽनित्यविशेषगुणवत्पार्थिवपरमाणुवदिति नाकाशे व्यभिचारस्तस्यापि तथा साधनात्॥ इति तार्किकचूडामणिभट्टसर्वदेवविरचितायां प्रमाणमञ्जर्यामभावपदार्थः सप्तमः॥

समाप्तेयं प्रमाणमञ्जरी॥

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

SOME EARLY POLIGARS OF ŪRKĀḌ

BY H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

IN the reconstruction of ancient history, it is the Archælogical and Epigraphical records that usually prove to be of vital importance. Works which are historical in nature often play an important part in this field. It may be that some of them, like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, need not always give information which is non-stultifiable by other kinds of evidence; yet it is seen, on many an occasion, that it is possible to derive from these works much interesting information which recorded history may ignore or omit, but which is still valuable. To this class of works belongs the *Seturāyavijaya*[1] which gives some information of a personal nature regarding a few of the early poligars of *Ūrkāḍ* which is now a small zamindāri in the southern-most part of India. The only known MS. of this work is preserved in the Adyar Library with the Shelf-number XIX. H. 11. It is a palm-leaf MS., written in Telugu characters, and consists of 30 folia. It is in Sanskrit Prose interspersed here and there with verses. The author is not known by name, but seems to be a native of the Telugu country. He might be a *protégé* of *Koṇḍalarāya* who might have been the last of the poligars of *Ūrkāḍ* still retaining the glory of his ancestors, and who, along with some of his predecessors, forms the subject of the *Seturāyavijaya.* In the course of his encomia, the author frequently indulges in high-sounding exaggerations which are not always attractive. There is not much ease or clarity in expression, and lapses in language are not unknown. An uninteresting attempt to imitate the *Raghuvaṁs'a* is made at the beginning of the work

[1] It should be of interest to note in this connection that the late M. Krishnamacharya (*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 286) thinks that this work deals with the life of 'a Dvaita Ācārya'! Obviously, he had no opportunity to look into the MS., and only exercised his imagination when he wanted to describe the contents of the work.

where, as a prelude to the description of *Seturāya*, the author says :

Kva te guṇās sarvamanobhirāmāḥ
Kva me matiś cālpatarā tathāpi |
Gādhetaram vāridhim āttakāmo
Mohāt plavenātitīrṣurasmi ||

The only redeeming feature of the work is the demonstration of certain poetic juggleries, matched only by his ingenuity in using a single passage, many a time, for the edification of more than one poligar.

In its present state, *Ūrkāḍ* is a minor Zamindāri, situated 20 miles west of Tinnevelly and about 3 miles from Ambāsamudram. The estate comprises less than 2000 Acres, and not a very important coffee-estate in the hills above Mattalampārai also belongs to it. The Zamindar's family belong to the *periyatāli* sect of the Kottāli Māravans, and are said to belong originally to the Rāmnāḍ country. The most prominent thing in the village seems to be the *S'āstā* temple which attracts crowds of worshippers from outside, irrespective of caste.

But in the early years of the 18th century, *Ūrkāḍ*, like many other contemporary seats of Poligars, had its hey-days. This was the time when South India was infested with numerous semi-independent Poligars who lived by looting the villages around them. Sirkar villages were only nominally under the direct management of the renter, but the revenue from these villages was always usurped by these Poligars. "They had appropriated the office of *Stalam Kāval* and consequently, its fees; they had invented and corrupted a new system of police known as *Des'akāval* for which they extorted payment; they levied land-duties, taxes on ploughs, looms, shops, labourers, and above all, they were armed with a rabble of desperate marauders to enforce obedience."[2] Against the armed mobs of ruthless free-booters, the renter was powerless and was obliged to resign himself to his fate and submit to all extortions. When affairs were in such a medley, the English and the Nawab found it

[2] H. R. Pate, *Tinnevelly District Gazeteer*, p, 271.

advantageous for them to interfere, and for a full half-century thereafter they were involved in countless expeditions 'designed to suppress the rebellions of one confederacy after another, and to extort the payments due by defaulting Poligars.'[3] Several treaties were entered into, but these improved the situation in no way; and the many spasmodic attempts made by the English to disarm the Poligars were all failures till 1799 A.D. when all these were crushed, and reduced almost to the state of pensioners. According to the treaty of 1792 A.D., the Poligars were required to respect the authority of the East India Company and pay a portion of their income as cess. The exact income of each poligar was not at all known, and there were thus no reliable records on which to base assessments. To improve the situation, several other measures were imposed which were not convenient to the Poligars. Eleven of them, including the Poligar of *Ūrkāḍ*, thought it best under the circumstances to surrender their villages to the Collector till the exact amount of their income was assessed. As a result, in 1803 A.D., *Ūrkāḍ* was one among those that received the *Sanad-i-milkiyat-i-istimrar* or deed of permanent settlement, and thence-forward became a Zamindāri.

It is only to the *Seturāyavijaya* that we must go for the names of some of the Poligars who ruled *Ūrkāḍ*, as also for some kind of information regarding their personality. From the name of the work, one would expect to find here an edification only of *Seturāya*; but actually panegyrics of *three* more Poligars, *Veṅkaṭācala*, *Srīnivāsa* and *Koṇḍalarāya* are found in the Codex. From the description of these given in the work, it seems that the first *three* Poligars must have been at the height of their glory, while decadence had already set in at the time when the last came into power. Thus, while superlatives are freely employed in describing the power wielded by the first *three* poligars, the following verse is used to describe the power of *Koṇḍalarāya*. who might have been the patron of the author :

Tātas svabhartṛsutasodarapoṣyavargān
Tyaktvā jaḍāhis'ayanistanugehas'atrūn |

[3] *Ibid.*

S'rīs tvām vicārya bhuvi satpatim ās'v avāpa
Yuktam guṇais tava tanoti hi rājyalakṣmīm ||

Bereft of all verbal pomposities used in description, the account given here of *Seturāya* would resolve itself to the fact that his capital was the very prosperous *Puravana* (Ūrkāḍ) situated on the western bank of the Tāmraparṇi.[4] He seems to have been a patron of learning. He belongs to the *S'ambināḍ* community (*s'ambināḍ kulārṇavāt kaustubha iva samudbhūtaḥ*)[5]. He is the son of the enlightened queen *Ādilakṣmī* (*mahāpuṇyadharmakaruṇāmedhāyuktas'rīmadādilakṣmīnāmnīmahārājñītanūjasya*)[6]. He had three queens, Kāntimatī, S'vetāmbā and Rāmalakṣmī (*s'ridharānīlāsamānakāntimatīs'vetāmbārāmalakṣmīnāmayuktadev(ī)trayasametasya).*[7] From the frequency[8] with which the blessing of *Goṣṭhiliṅga* is invoked upon him, it is clear that this is his family God. The family goddess is *Cokkanayakī*, the consort of S'iva, (*s'rīkaṇṭhakuṭumbinī kulādhiṣṭhānadevatā cokkanāyakīdevī nāma jagajjananī*[9]).

Venkaṭācala also seems to have been as prosperous and as much a patron of learning. He comes from the family of the *Rāvilas*. He is the son of *Venkatāmbā* :

Venkaṭāmbā mahābhāgā jananī yasya pāvanī |
Yas'odayā samās'liṣṭas soyam kṛṣṇas sa edhate[10] ||

The capital of *S'rinivāsa* seems to be *Madura*[11] instead of *Ūrkāḍ* for, on him are invoked the blessings of *Hālāsyanātha* (*Sundares'a*) whose temple is in Madura. This Poligar

[4] *Tāmrātaṭinī pas'cimataṭakṛtāvāsā* (fol. 2a).
[5] Fol. 8a.
[6] Fol. 11a.
[7] Fol. 11b.
[8] See, for instance, *Tanotu s'am te s'ivakāminīs'as' s'rīgosṭhiliṅgas satatam nṛpāla* (fol. 1a). He is even frequently called *goṣṭhiliṅga seturāya* (fol. 4, 11b).
[9] Fol. 12a.
[10] Fol. 21b.
[11] This does not mean that *Srīnivāsa* is not a poligār of *Ūrkaḍ*. It is known that till A.D. 1910, *three* out of four Madura Zamindāris had, for administrative purposes, been attached to the Tinnevelly district in which *Ūrkāḍ* is also situated.

is said to be a special devotee of Rāma who did not however neglect the worship of S'iva (*s'rīrāmabhaktāgraṇīr api punaḥ punaḥ pravartitas'ivakāryaḥ*[12]). He had a wife called *Satyabhāmā.*[13] Like the other two, he was also very prosperous and patronized learned men.[14] He seems to have held the special post of *Prāḍvivāka*[15].

About *Koṇḍalarāya* we know[16] no more than that the mantle fell on him when all his relatives died. Perhaps only a shadow of the ancient glory of his predecessors remained at this time.

There are several interesting features of the work which will be clear on an examination of its contents in detail.

Of the 30 folia, the first 20 are devoted to the praise of *Seturāya.* Though this is generally in prose, the author is seen twice to break out into verse, and this is usually so when he asks for the reward for his labours. Thus the prose goes on till the end of folio 12a. Folio 12b is blank, and the next *two* contain the following verses :[17]

श्रीनायक महाभाग तुर्यातीत समेक्षण ।
कलापूर्ण लसद्गात्र गुरुवारणहस्तदोः ॥
सम्प्रार्थये पङ्कजाता ननभूजा मनोहर ।
हारशोभा राजवेष जयप्रद श्रितेष्टद ॥
सेवेहं न तु चान्यं वै राजमान्यं यशस्करं ।
भूयो भूयं परं मह्यं मानदानं कुरु प्रभो ॥
[18]ग्रहरूपिन् हंसरूपिन् रणोत्सुक चिदात्मक ।
इङ्गितज्ञा चिराय त्वं रक्षकाकाक्षिशातनी ॥
चतुर्वर्गवरप्रेष्ठं यन्मयोक्तं शुभं स्तवं ।

[12] fol. 25a.
[13] fol. 24b.
[14] fol. 25ff.
[15] fol. 25b.
[16] fol. 30.
[17] Since these verses are too corrupt and any attempt at making them grammatically correct would entail spoiling the dual purpose for which they are intended, they are reproduced here in the exact state in which they are found in the original MS.
[18] This word ought to be गृ.

भद्ररूपी महात्मा यः स्तुवतीह महास्तवं[19] ॥
रमेशस्तु तदा तुष्टः कल्याणानि वराणि च ।
लीलयाऽपि स दद्यद्वै ह्यायुष्यं च यशश्च ते ॥
रामभानुस्तवं दिव्यं राजेन्द्र श्रीशतुष्टिदं ।
प्रातःकाले पठेद्यस्तु श्रीरामभक्तिसंयुतः ॥
तस्य सिद्ध्यन्ति कार्याणि नाऽत्र कार्या विचारणा ।
विशेषं तत्र वक्ष्येहं रामानुग्रहहेतुकं ॥
श्लोकपादादिवर्णानि संयोज्य प्रविलोकयेत् ।
तस्मिन् योसौ भूपालः दृश्यते तत्स्वरूपतः ॥
अभीष्टदानं कुरुते भक्ताय रघुनंदनः ।
तस्यापि भूपालवरस्य रामस्सीतासहायः पुरुषार्थदाता ।
पुत्रायुरारोग्यधनाभिवृद्धिं तनोतु कल्याणपरंपराश्च ॥

To all apparent purposes this is a prayer addressed to S'rī Rāma; but as the last *four* verses show, it serves also the dual purpose of a request for a grant of land. If the initial syllables of each quarter in this poem are taken out and brought together, the following Telugu line is formed: *s'rīmatsakalagunasampanna mahārāja s'rīseturāyabhūpa māku gṛham raciñci rakṣiñcavay(y)a s'ubhamastu maratakavallīsahāyam,*[20] which is no more than a request to *Seturāya* for the grant of a house and of protection.

This *Rāmabhānustava* is completed at the end of folia 14, but versification continues till the middle of folio 15b. In these verses the favour of *Seturāya* is sought in clear terms. From the middle of this folio, prose is resumed and is continued till the end of folio 18. Versification, similar in nature to that on folio 15, is revived in the next *two* folia.

The next folio (21) is devoted to the panegyric on *Venkaṭācala.* Then (foll. 22-23a) occur the following verses which when read like the *Rāmabhānustava*, resolve into the Telugu sentence:

[19] महामतिः is given in the MS. as a variant reading.

[20] This does not seem to be correct Telugu entirely.

s'rīmatsakalaguṇasampanna mahārāja s'rīnavanītakṛṣṇadeva-bhūpa māku gṛham raciñci rakṣicanii s'ubhamastu marataka-vallīsahāyam[21] in which *Navanītakṛṣṇadeva*[22] is requested to grant a house and thus give shelter to his needy edifier :

श्रीराजेन्द्र महाभाग तुरगेन्द्र सहस्रद ।
कलाभिज्ञ ललामाभ गुरुवारणहस्तदो ॥
संपत्प्रद परित्राहि नरराज महार्तिहन् ।
हारशोभ राजपूज्य जयप्रद श्रितेष्टद ॥
नम्ररूपावनीपाल नीतिदोथ[23] तमालरुक् ।
कृपां कुरूष्णराहित्य देहि देहि वरान् बहून् ॥
भूयो भूयः परं मह्यं मानदानं कुरु प्रभो ।
[24]ग्रहरूपिन् हंसरूपिंन् रणोत्सुक चिदात्मक ॥
इङ्गितज्ञा चिरायत्वं रक्ष मां तु क्षितीश भो ।
चतुर्वेर्गवरं नित्यं (दद्याः)[25] यन्मयोक्तं शुभं स्तवं ॥
भद्ररूपं महात्मा यः स्तुवतीह महामतिः ।
रमेशस्तु तदा तुष्टः कल्याणानि वराणि च ।
लीलया च स दद्या(द्दै)[26] ह्यायुष्यं च यशश्वते[27] ॥

Folio 23b is blank, and the remaining 6 folia contain the praise of *Srīnivāsa* in prose, followed by a few verses at the end.

The last folio (30) contains verses in praise of *Koṇḍalarāya.*

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[21] As in the previous case, the grammatical accuracy of this sentence is doubtful.

[22] This is perhaps a cognomen of *Venkaṭācala.*

[23] नीतिदो(ऽ)सि is given in the MS. as a V. L.

[24] This letter ought to be गृ.

[25] This word is scribbled in a corner to be inserted in this place.

[26] This letter is not clear in the MS.

[27] Like the *Rāmabhānustava*, these verses are too corrupt to be improved upon, and are cited as they are found in the original MS.

REVIEWS

Inspiring Messages for All (Volume First), by Swami Sivananda, Ananda Kutir, Rikhikesh. Price Re. 1-8/-, 1941.

The little book under review contains twenty-two messages, fully packed with solace for suffering humanity and under varying conditions of life and experience. A variety of branches of actual life-conditions are represented. It is noteworthy that there is a fundamental unity underlying all the messages which can be understood by a careful reader, thereby emphasizing the fundamental unity of all life and aspirations for the ultimate goal. Peace can be achieved only where there is the love of God. Absence of desires will surely help in this direction as there will be no desire which will come into conflict with the desire of another which causes discomfort and strife. Peace within the soul is essential to achieve the goal of peace and one who has attained it alone can radiate peace to others. It is eternal life in pure Spirit, pure consciousness or highest self (p. 16).

True freedom consists in freeing oneself from the clutches of *Avidyā* and its effects, in keeping a balanced mind, in the mastery of self-control and the realization of the difference between the body and the soul that inhabits the body and the relations considered near and dear to the body. Freedom is the birth-right of every individual and it is Immortality. Politics without moral and spiritual basis will dwindle into an airy nothing. The foundation of Society and Politics is God. Workers in the field of Politics should be free from selfishness, egoism, greed, lust etc., and the work done should be selfless and dedicated to Īśvara.

The third message on Silence is a powerful plea to realize its significance and power. Physical silence is achievable but what is most important is mental silence, if it may be so called. The functioning of the mind is so rapid that it refuses all control and builds images while the tongue is silent. The Ocean of Silence is *Brahman* and when the inner astral senses are at perfect rest there is real everlasting silence. To the west steeped in the making of dollars and scientific discoveries adding to the comforts of human life and existence or its destruction the message of the Swami is to stop all further invention for some time. If only they will look into themselves for some time and try to understand the hidden mysteries of the soul, as they do the phenomena, how stunned and happy would they be ? They are, according to the Swami, external Rāja Yogins. What with the sky-scrapers and dollars in billions, human misery is the same everywhere and real happiness is something different than what we think. Love for the brethren is the chief need of the world of today and truly so.

The ordinary people of the world most of whom live seeking after the pleasures of life and keenly contesting in the race for personal preference and the good things of life have a function no less important in the scheme of the human existence. Those who realize the transitory nature of sensual pleasures and the emptiness of the human existence are certainly ripe for the spiritual path. Spiritualization of the ordinary daily life routine will help in the realization of the self, and develop a new attitude towards life and a new angle of vision. The real method is to look forward and become a yogin. God the unknown Yogi is the wire-puller of the entire universe and the unseen Governor or Master. Life is illusory in the sense that there is no permanence of conditions. Time is fleeting and the young and beautiful become old and ugly. Death takes a daily toll regardless of the depletion. The body is circumscribed by the desires and ignorance. One has to get over the drudgery of life, shake off all bonds of karma, through discrimination

and non-attachment and rise above conventional distinctions. Self-realization the *summum-bonum* of human aspiration, according to the Swami, can alone break the bonds of Karma. Devotion and discipline are the two methods to strive with, along with steadiness.

To the student, the practice of Brahmacarya is the essence of life. It is the basis for acquiring immortality. Spotless chastity is the best of all penances. The utilization of the vital fluid as *Ojas' Sakti* by Prāṇāyāma is the best method for divine contemplation and spiritul pursuits. Brahmacarya, physical as well as mental, both are equally important. It brings material progress and psychic advancement. It is the root-cause of all spiritual and worldly advancement. The inhibitions to a Brahmacārin should be strictly adhered to. Truth should be spoken at all costs (*Satyam*). *Ahimsā* is the next. Faith in the Scriptures is essential. Imita tion is a pestilence which should be avoided. It is a possible transition from Brahmacarya ās'rama straight to that of Sanyāsa.

The householder is the centre of life in this universe. His is the highest and supports the other three ās'ramas. It is the field for developing the various virtues. The performance of the pañca-mahā-yajñas are not only obligatory but expiatory in character. The Manes survive because of the offerings of the householder and the continuance of the family through progeny. God, Religion and Dharma are inseparable according to the Swami. The mark of *Dharma* is ācāra, which is the root of all tapas. Self-realization is the goal. The responsibility of the parents in the training of children is immeasurable. The spiritual training of the wife and children is a necessary duty. Repetition of mantras and constant *japa* are methods to be adopted. Systematic *sādhana* or practice alone can help the attainment of the desired object. This is not all. Breadth of vision and broad-mindedness, a feeling that the universe is one brotherhood, these constitute the real and abiding way to become a yogin, which leads to the perfection of the sādhana.

To the ladies of India the message of the Swami is simple and direct. They are the backbone of the Hindu home. They are the goddesses of the Home as Manu and the *Mahābhārata* would depict then. The care of the home and the children is a privilege of the Devī of the house. Modesty is a fundamental virtue and beauty should be nicely balanced by *sātvika* temperament. A Sulabhā or a Gārgī or a Sāvitrī is not unknown. Nāmasankīrtana can be done by ladies with more profit than hankering after fashion and passion. To the Vānaprastha is suggested the method to wean himself away from the family, as also to the retired people.

The bhakta is of a special category. To him love of God is life. It is both religion and science. The Lord is everything and dwells in the heart of every being. The saṅkīrtana of the name of the Supreme brings bliss and peace.

Such love as the bhakta alone is capable of feeling is the result of the knowledge of God. Perfect faith in the Lord, sincerity, humility, self-surrender, these are the requisites of a true devotee. Sat-saṅga is a blessing even for worldly-minded persons and will lead them on to the path of a yogi. Saṅkīrtana is advice which is very helpful to face difficult situations. Modern accompaniments of Music are not essential.

Selfless service or Niṣkāma karma is of the highest order, and the easiest means for purifying the heart. The practice of Karma Yoga prepares the mind of the aspirant for the reception of the knowledge of self. Service to humanity and country is service to God. Service is worship. Karma Yoga does not require enormous wealth for being practised. Love of fellow creatures, liberality, helpfulness and pity and mercy for the suffering these constitute the real essentials of a Karma Yogin.

To the student of Vedānta, to the Sanyāsin, to the sick and to all sādhakas, the Swami has given messages which radiate his convictions. That on 'Health' is important to every one. Good health is the greatest asset and a blessing, the value of which is immeasurable. Healthy parents bring forth healthy children and

ill-health is carried through generations. Good health is essential for the practice of yoga and sādhana. The practice of āsanas, an ardous task, requires brimming health. Food is the upbringer and maintainer of health. It is therefore doubly necessary to take only sātvic food. The messages contained in the volume though repeating themselves in some of them, still maintain a unity of purpose. Repetition is often essential for driving home the point at issue, and in a work of this nature it only emphasizes the unity of thought, life and aim or ultimate goal of life through the medium of theses *Messages*.

A. N. KRISHNAN

Nitya-Grandha by Bhagavad Rāmānuja with *Āhnika-Kārikā* by S'rī Vaṅgi Vams'es'vara. Edited by Paṇḍit V. Anantacharya, Retired Lecturer in Sanskrit, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Published by V. Perumal Chetty & Sons, George Town, Madaras, 1941.

The *Nitya-Grandha* of S'rī Rāmānuja is a manual written by that great teacher for the benefit of his followers with a view to regulate the daily life and worship of the S'rīvaiṣṇavas of his day and to be followed in the future. As such, its importance to the S'rīvaiṣṇava is equal to that of the *S'ruti* itself. The publishers have done a signal service in undertaking the publication of the work in as much as the availability of the work in its present form with the *Kārikas* of Vaṅgivaṁs'esvara, the immediate disciple of that great teacher, amplifying the points of the work that required explanation and acting as a kind of interpretative commentary on the *Nitya* of S'rī Rāmānuja. In spite of the several editions which this work has undergone, its unavailability is regrettable and the publication of this work is a welcome addition to the devotee as well as to the scholar.

In 1886 a Telugu edition of the *Nitya* appeared at Bangalore and in 1897 another edition in Telugu character was brought out by the Bangalore Book Depot. It was also edited by one Dharaṇīdhara at Brindaban in 1915. A Nāgari edition of the work was available at Benares. In 1940 Mr. Annagaracharya of Conjeevaram bought out a complete edition of all the works of S'rī Rāmānuja and the *Nitya* has found a place in that also. Notwithstanding, a Nāgari edition of the work was badly required and the grantha edition has become equally unavailable and unpreservable. The booklet under review is to be welcomed on account of its fulfilling a want and also giving out the *Kārikas* of Vaṅgivams'ēs'vara as well. The printing and the get up are creditable. Still there are certain items which could well have been added such as an index of verses of the Kārikas. The critical apparatus is not given, either. In the syllabification of the words care has not been bestowed on proper separation of the letters and this error is reflected throughout the work, page after page, which could well have been avoided by both the editor and the Publisher. We welcome the publication.

A. N. KRISHNAN

OUR EXCHANGES

The Adhyātma Prakāśa.
,, Andhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā.
,, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
,, Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University.
,, Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
,, Aryan Path.
,, Bhārata Dharma.
,, Bhārata Mitra.
,, Bhāratīya Vidyā, Andheri, Bombay.
,, Buddha Prabhā, Bombay.
,, Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona.
,, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
,, Bulletin L'Ecole Francaise D'Extréme Orient, Hanoi, Indo China.
,, Bulletin of the New York Public Library.
,, Cochin Government Archæologist, Trichur.
,, Director of Archæology, Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.
,, Director of Archæology, Baroda.
,, Federated India, Madras.
,, Hindu, Madras (Sunday Edition).
,, Indian Culture, Calcutta.
,, Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
,, Indian Social Reformer, Bombay.
,, Indian Thinker, Trivandram.
,, Inner Culture, California, U.S.A.

The Jaina Antiquary, Arrah.
„ Jaina Gazette, Ajitās'ram, Lucknow.
„ Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
„ Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society. Rajahmundry.
„ Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
„ Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
„ Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
„ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
„ Journal of the University of Bombay.
„ Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.
„ Journal of Indian History, Mylapore, Madras.
„ Journal of the K. R. Kama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
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„ Journal of the Madras University.
„ Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.
„ Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
„ Journal of Sri S'aṅkara Gurukulam, S'rirangam.
„ Journal of the U. P. Historical Research Society, Lucknow.
„ Kalaimagal, The Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore.
„ Karṇāṭaka Historical Review, Dharwar.
„ Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā.
„ Maharaja's Sanskrit College Magazine, Mysore.
„ Missouri University Studies.
„ Mysore Archæological Series, Director of Archæology, Mysore.
„ Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Benares City.
„ New Indian Antiquary, Poona.
„ New Review, Calcutta.
„ Philosophical Abstracts, New York, U.S.A.
„ Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner.

The Poona Orientalist.
,, Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka, Mysore.
,, Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
,, Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.
,, Religions, London.
,, Review of Philosophy and Religion.
,, Saṃskṛta Ratnākara, Jaipur.
,, Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Calcutta.
,, Sentamil, Tamil Sangam, Madura.
,, S'rī, Kashmir.
,, Suddha Dharma, Mylapore.
,, Theosophical Worker, Adyar.
,, Theosophist, Adyar.
,, Udyāna Patrikā, Tiruvāḍi, Tanjore District.
,, Vedānta Kesari, Mylapore, Madras.
,, Vis'va-Bhāratī Quarterly, S'āntiniketan.
,, World-peace, Calcutta.

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THE RELATIVITY OF HINDU ETHICS

By Annie Besant

[Extracted from a lecture delivered in November 1914 under the auspices of the Societies connected with the Madras Presidency College].

I HAVE chosen this particular subject of "The Relativity of Hindu Ethics" because so far as I know—and I have studied fairly carefully the great religions of the world, both living and dead—there is no religion which has put forward so perfect a system of Ethics from the philosophical, the scientific, as well as the emotional, side as the great Hindu faith. And I wish to show you how perfectly orderly is the system which has been laid down by the Sages of old.

* * * *

Ethics is the Science of Right Relations. * * * Only in harmony can peace and happiness be found: and the very moment you realize that there is but One Life you are bound logically also to realize that the part can only find its perfection and its happiness by harmony with the whole to which it belongs. And I may remind you that modern science is quite at one with religion on that point.

* * * *

Now, the Ṛṣis divided the circle (of Evolution) into two halves; one half, They said, is the Mārga of Pravṛtti, of forthgoing. It is the path in which the germ goes out into the world of matter, constantly acquiring in order that it may

grow, assimilating what it acquires, and evolving faculties that are unfolding within it. When that first half of the circle has been accomplished, when experience has been gathered, then, They say, you come to the time when the path of return must be begun, the Nivṛtti Mārga. You may divide the whole of human life—meaning by that phrase, the cycle of births and deaths, the continual incarnation and reincarnation—you can divide the whole of that into the path of Pravṛtti and the path of Nivṛtti.

Now, the Ethics of the path of going-forth are different from the Ethics of the path of returning : but our standard of Right or Wrong being harmony with the Divine Will, that remains untouched. For, although the actions will be different according to the path that the man is treading, he will be going in consonance with the Divine Will, whichever path he may be in, in the one path where he is acquiring, in the other path where he is throwing away the outer in order that the inner may develop into the divine splendour which is its natural birthright. When for a moment I ask you to bear in mind that I am describing these paths which form our system very briefly, and hence very imperfectly, we pass to the next stage, which is to take that long life of the Jīvātmā, and divide it into great groups of virtues which have to be acquired set by set, as the soul unfolds : there you have the real reason for the ancient system of caste. It was intended that, in the Hindu Nation, the different qualities that were necessary to develop in order that the perfect man might be evolved, should be divided into certain groups of qualities which were congruous with each other : and in that way it might be possible for a man to develop a set of qualities, as it were, and having worked those into his nature, so that they became part of his nature, he would then pass on to the next great group, and deal with them in a similar fashion. By the loss of the Dharma of the castes, the value of the caste system has passed away,

because no longer is each caste a school for the development of certain qualities. Think, however, for a moment how these castes work in the original system of Ethics, and show themselves as different stages of evolutionary progress. The lowest of these, where rules were relaxed, where restrictions were not numerous, was the S'ūdra caste, and the qualities that were to be developed—the man having passed through the savage condition and coming into the great civilization of the Hindus—these were intended to be the first lessons in a very highly organized Society. He had to learn obedience, service, usefulness, the general helping of all around him. And this is very noticeable in this great scheme: that the caste which is taken as the primary grade for the teaching of the virtues necessary to the perfect man comes back again in the Sanyāsin when the human cycle of life has been completed: for just as the S'ūdra, on the physical plane, is to be the servant of all, so is the great Ṛṣi on the superhuman plane, the servant of the humanity to which He dedicates Himself. So that we realize how both are learning the great lesson of service; the lowest and the highest are really one and the same, only separated by differences of degree; but the essence of both is Service, the helping of all around, the aiding of humanity.

* * * *

Now let me remind you of the last beautiful order of this Hindu system; not the life of the Jīvātmā any longer embodied in matter, but the life of the individual during a single experience from birth to death: that is the system of the four Ās'ramas, which exactly corresponds with the caste system. The one is not complete without the other. It was a great dual system. You see at once that the caste of the S'ūdra is parallel to the order of the Brahmacārin of the student. He then has to develop obedience, service, dutifulness, he has to learn the lessons for that particular order. Then he goes on to the Gṛhasthās'rama, the household life: he is then the

typical Vaiśya. All other orders depend upon him : he is the Viṣṇu of this world : the supporter and maintainer. And in that household life, his virtues are quite different from the virtues of the Brahmacārin. After he had passed through the Gṛhasthāśrama and gained all his experiences and performed all his duties, then he was to step out into the Vānaprastha stage where, himself free from worldly affairs, he would be able to counsel and advise his youngers, no longer to take an active part in the business of the world, but to leave it to the more vigorous people who are able to do it well. The duty of the Kṣatriya comes under this stage. Then came the last Āśrama which is the correlative of the Brāhmaṇa caste, where the Sanyāsin, having gained all his experience, renounced the outer world, and prepared himself for the life on the other side of death.

Thus well-conceived was evolution according Hindu thought, and that is why I said it was the most perfect system that had ever been given to a Nation in a religion. There are no gaps in it : there is no ethical question that cannot find its right solution in one part or another of this great system of human evolution : and if you realize the outline of that, then you will readily be able to see how all Ethics are relative, *i.e.*, that the right thing for a man to do at any particular time depends on the place which he is occupying in evolution.

* * * *

The law of the past shows where he is : the law by which he has to guide his conduct shows where he ought to be, and where he will be as he lives through his life, if he carries out that Dharma. The double idea is there. * * *

One most luminous way of finding out in detail what our duty is on the whole Pravṛtti Mārga is to say that it is our business to gather in everything we rightfully can. Sometimes people say : " We ought to work without desire." Certainly on the

Nivṛtti Mārga. But nothing is more fatal to progress than to give up the desire for fruit until you have evolved within you the power which will make you work as hard without the desire for fruit, as you could work when you are moved by that desire. * * * How does a mother teach her child to walk? Instead of taking the child up and carrying it, and giving it the grand theory of locomotion, the mother puts the child down and teaches it to walk by dangling a toy in front of it. The child learns to walk by trying to get at the toy. But if the toy were not there, he would make no effort at all he would sit there until the mother took him out. He would never have learned to walk. That is exactly how God deals with us. Before us He dangles bits of tinsel, money, fame, social position, power over other people; all these things He dangles in front of us. And even as the baby learns to use his muscles, the man evolves his qualities. He makes his brain a little bit brighter; he plans, he schemes, all that he may get an object of desire, and presently he clutches it, having developed his faculties. Then having clutched it, he gets but brief satisfaction out of it. That is the Līlā of Īśvara. The pleasure is in the hunting after the object; when you get it, you are soon tired of it.

* * * *

That is God's way in educating His children. When you come to the point of working for the general good as hard as if you were working for fruit, then can you give up the desire for fruit. Meanwhile God hides in objects of desire, in order to induce you to go after them, and so to draw out faculties which otherwise you would not have developed. "There is nothing moving or unmoving that exists without" God. There is no love but His. Every beauty, every attraction, that you see in any object, is God in that object, which is calling to the Self in you, the one great Self which is hidden in all around us. And in that way it is that evolution goes

on; in that way faculties are brought out, and all the while the man is on the Pravṛtti Mārga, he ought to be full of desire, in order that he may progress. * * * Renunciation has its place certainly; but you have to gain something to renounce, before you can renounce. If you read the history of the great men of India, you find that they have gone through the Brahmacārin stage, that then they became husbands and fathers, that they gathered wealth, that they took pleasure in life; and it was not until they had reaped from these two stages what they had to teach, it was not until then they put them aside: having practically exhausted their value by learning every lesson that they had to teach. Then they began renunciation, but not before; and so many great men passed, great ministers, and great Kings. They ruled kingdoms, or they advised monarchs. They went from one step to another of earthly glory and power and splendour. And when they had done all that, and discharged their duties to the country, then, with the garb of the Sanyāsin they would go out into the desert. Having done their duty, they renounced, and took up the life of the Yogin. * * *

Thus in the Vais'ya caste and in the Gṛhasthās'rama which goes with it, you do not have a life of renunciation but a life of carefully limited and temperate enjoyment. It is in that life that self-restraint is learnt. There is nothing easier than absolute abstinence, but the deliberate training of the body and mind, so that it remains strong and alert and obedient to the will is a greater achievement than simply muzzling the body while the mind plays on the desired object. So you find that all along this road, step by step, there was the taking of things; for the taking of things was necessary for the full development of the powers of man. There was a time when selfishness was an admirable virtue. We have gone beyond that stage. But there was a time when to be selfish was to be on the path of evolution.

How do Ethics change for the man who begins to tread the Nivṛṭṭi Mārga ? The man who is going homeward has no claim on the outer world : all his duty to it is the payment of the debts he has incurred during his many lives on the Pravṛtti Mārga. He has incurred many debts to others during those lives. He has to pay them all, when he is turning homewards. That life is the life of renunciation, the liberation of the Spirit from bonds. So the man who turns in that direction, beginning it in the Vānaprastha stage but carrying it on fully in the Sanyāsin stage, that man has no claims upon any : he has no rights.

We shall talk of rights and duties now. I saw Mr. Asquith used my favourite phrase the other day, that "the weak have rights : the strong have only duties." There is a great truth in that phrase. The Sanyāsin has no rights. He has renounced them all. He has given up every claim ; he has taken up Service as his one duty. He has given his life to help the life of the world, and he has no further personal claims. Hence the whole code of Ethics changes. * * *

The life of the Sanyāsin is a life of perfect renunciation, and therefore his ethics are wholly different from the ethics of the man of the world. * * * * *

A man may be a public man, and yet a Sanyāsin. Janaka the Sanyāsin would have had no right to punish a man who took away from him what he had, but Janaka the King would have committed a sin if he had allowed the thief to go unpunished. These are the higher problems that come when the higher ranges of life are reached, and when the man learns that he is separated from his mind and body. Hence it is that Janaka said when Mithilā was burning : "There is nothing of mine that is burning." That is the lesson of the higher life. The Yogin wants no fruit. But why ? Because, realizing himself as part of the One Life, as long as Īsvara works, he works. * * * * *

There is a rule of conduct for each one of you which you ought to obey. It should be a little higher than your practice, but not so high that you should say: "It is impossible," because then you have no stimulus towards walking along the higher path. Realize that your ideals rise; that as we fulfil one, it ceases to be an ideal, and the next ideal rises above us and before us. Some day all will be Sanyāsins, but that day is not yet come. Only here and there is one to be found who is fit to be a Sanyāsin. For as the mind learns to leave the outer objects, gradually, slowly, you will come to find that there is something better than the world can offer you. For is it not written that when one glimpse of the Supreme has been caught, then all lower desires die away? It is on these lines of thinking that you will find that Hinduism meets you at every stage of your development. You never develop so high that it has not something higher to show you. And you can never be at a stage so low, that it has not some inspiration, that appeals to you to win you a little higher from the stage that you are occupying. That is the real greatness of Hinduism. The highest thinker cannot outstrip it; the lowliest peasant finds something in it that he can grasp and live by. And so I come back to that point with which I started: that, after a study, of some forty years and more, of the great religions of the world, I find none so perfect, none so scientific, none so philosophical, and none so spiritual, as the great religion known by the name of Hinduism. The more you know it, the more you will love it; the more you try to understand it, the more deeply will you value it. And I would say to you, who are young, on whom the future of India depends, that that great future is bound up with this ancient religion, and that, unless the younger men love and live it, the Indian Nation will not continue to endure.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM OR HAPPINESS

BY BENEDICT DE SPINOZA

Introduction

THIS second instalment is taken from the fifth and last part of the *Ethica*. Here Spinoza's philosophy reaches its natural climax, scaling mystical peaks as only few philosophers have been inspired to see rising in the distance, to say nothing of having found their feet actually wandering amidst the glittering whiteness. While the centuries proceed, Spinoza's crystal clear and crystal cool thoughts are ever more fully appreciated as the last word of wisdom, expressible in human language. Not the whole "fabric of his vision", of course, but such of its loftiest pinnacles as have pierced the darkest clouds of general human ignorance and limitation. The identification of God and Nature, in its all-embracing sense, the realization that everything is rooted in that same Nature or God, the recognition in everything of an "aspect of eternity", the absolute parallelism of mind and body, the declaration of understanding and (or) intuition as the highway and most perfect means of truth, the demonstration that the good of one is the good of all, and that one's love for anything or everything is but Nature's or God's love for the whole and every part of the universe—these are a few of Spinoza's imperishable contributions to the human palace of wisdom.

Sometimes the criticism is heard that the mathematical mould into which it has pleased him to cast the *Ethica*, makes

the reading of the book a dry and tedious process. Nothing is less true or more blatantly superficial. It can only have come from one who has deliberately closed his heart, from fear or prejudice, to its seductive influence. It is disproved by the fact alone that Spinoza's rediscovery after a century of horrified rejection,[1] and his re-proclamation to the awakening modern world, is due to a group of Germany's most romantic and greatest poets of the second half of the eighteenth century —Lessing (d. 1781), Novalis (d. 1802), Herder (d. 1803), Schiller (d. 1805), Goethe (d. 1832). The mathematical form is only accidental, due to the time, when mathematics was beginning to establish its supreme reign in science. And not only that it cannot hinder Spinoza's free flight of thought, or clip the wings of his poetic-mystic inspiration, but it is on the contrary so apt to his peculiar genius, which is aphoristic rather than discursive, that it greatly enhances them. Some may enjoy the elaborate and involved discursions in which most philosophers and students of philosophy indulge—the more elaborate and involved, the more enjoyed and devoured! —but others prefer conciseness and something left for one's own imagination to fill in, some links left out for one's own ingenuity to forge. In these extracts from Spinoza's book, discarding the mathematical garb, the terse aphoristic quality of Spinoza's thinking, like Bacon's, is of necessity stressed even more, and so I hope made more attractive, even in these restless, breathless times, which leave so little leisure for savouring long dissertations.

I have prefaced this second instalment of extracts from Spinoza's great book by the introduction to another posthumous work, the *Emendation of the Undersanding*, for which

[1] "Hideous" and "infamous" are for example the choice epithets bestowed by David Hume (d. 1776) upon his brother philosopher.

there is no fitter place than here. In its simplicity and straightforwardness, it is one of the purest guides to the higher life, and an unspotted mirror of Spinoza's own serene existence. The remarks regarding the translation made previously are valid here also. The title to this part is taken from the *Ethica's* fifth book (*de via quae ad libertatem seu beatitudinem ducit*). The footnotes are mine except when otherwise indicated, other comments I have placed between square brackets.

BHIKKHU ARYA ASANGA

The Search for Happiness[1]

After experience had taught me that all things which frequently occur in common life, are vain and futile; when I further saw that all things which I feared and which feared me, have nothing in themselves of good or bad except in so far as the mind is moved by them, I determined at last to inquire if there were anything which is truly good and which could communicate itself to the mind, and by which alone, with the exclusion of all else, the mind might entirely be filled: in fact, if there were anything by the discovery and acquisition of which I might enjoy a continual and supreme happiness in all eternity. I say that I determined "at last", for at first sight it seemed inadvisable to be willing to let go of a certain for a still uncertain thing. I saw all the advantages coming from honour and wealth, and that I would be compelled to abstain from seeking them if I were seriously willing to devote myself to something new. And if perchance supreme happiness existed in them rather than in this, I perceived that I would have to forego that happiness. If on the other hand it existed not in them, and I applied myself entirely to them, then also I would forego the supreme happiness. I therefore turned over in my mind if perchance it were possible to arrive at this new object, or at least to obtain certainty regarding it, without changing the order and common course of my life. I had however often attempted this in vain.

Wealth, Honour, Lust

For, the things which occur most often in life, and which are esteemed by men, as may be gathered from their works, as the greatest good, may be reduced to these three, namely

[1] From the *Emendation of the Understanding*.

wealth, honour or fame, and lust. By these three the mind is so distracted that it can hardly think of any other good. For, as regards lust, the mind is so completely suspended by it as if it had found rest in something really good. This greatly prevents it from thinking of anything else. But after the enjoyment of that good, there follows the deepest sorrow, by which the mind, if not altogether suspended, is at any rate disturbed and inhibited. The pursuit of honour and wealth also distracts the mind not a little, especially if the latter is sought only for its own sake,[1] for then it is held to be the supreme good. Still, by honour the mind is far more distracted, for it is always taken to be good for its own sake. Again, in wealth and honour there is not repentance, as there is in lust, but the more we possess of either of them, the more the pleasure increases, and consequently the more we are incited to increase them. But if at any time our hope is frustrated, then there arises the deepest sorrow. Finally, honour is also a great impediment, because to pursue it our life must necessarily be directed towards captivating people, by fleeing what the vulgar flee, and by seeking what the vulgar seek.

The Dangers of Life

When I therefore saw how all these things were obstacles in the way of my devoting myself to a new object, nay that they were so opposed to it that either one or the other had to be given up, I was compelled to inquire what was better for me, for as I said, I seemed to be willing to let go of a certain for an uncertain good. But after I had for a little

[1] Wealth may be distinguished according as it is sought either for its own sake, or for the sake of honour, lust, health, and the advancement of science and art (Spinoza).

while brooded over the matter, I found in the first place that, if giving up these, I set out for the new object, I would give up a good uncertain in its nature for something uncertain, not in its nature (for I was seeking a firm good) but only as far as regards its attainment. But by continued meditation I came to the point that, if I could only deeply make up my mind, I would let go a certain evil for a certain good. For I saw myself move in the midst of the greatest danger, and I was obliged to seek with all my strength for a remedy however uncertain, like a sick man suffering from a deadly disease who, foreseeing certain death by it if he does not apply a remedy, is obliged to seek for it however uncertain with all his strength, for in it alone is all his hope. But all these remedies which the vulgar follow, not only contribute nothing to our preservation, but even hinder it, and often are the cause of death of those who possess them, so to say, and always of those who are possessed by them. For, there are a great many examples of those who for their wealth have suffered persecution even unto death, and also of those who to amass riches exposed themselves to so many dangers that at last they paid the penalty of their folly with their life. Nor are the examples fewer of those who to attain or defend their honour or fame have suffered most miserably. Finally, innumerable are the examples of those who by excessive lust have hastened their own death. It seemed further that these evils arose from the fact that we find our whole happiness or unhappiness depending on this alone, namely on the quality of the object to which we cling in love. For from that which no one loves, strife never arises; there is no sorrow if it perishes; no envy if it is possessed by another; no fear, no hate, and in one word no commotion of the mind whatever; all which things are connected with the love for such things

only as are perishable, like all those things of which we have just spoken.

Make Up Your Mind

But the love for what is eternal and infinite fills the mind with happiness alone, and frees it from all sorrow, which is much to be desired and to be sought with all our might. But I have not without reason used these words, "If I could only seriously make up my mind." For, although I perceived all this quite clearly in my mind, yet I could not lay aside all greed, lust and honour. This one thing I saw, that as long as the mind turned around these meditations, so long it turned away from the other things, and meditated seriously on the new object, which was a great comfort to me. For I saw that those evils were not of such a condition that they would not give way to remedies. And although in the beginning these intervals were rare and lasted for a very short space of time, yet later the true good became more and more manifest to me, and these intervals more frequent and lasting longer, especially after I saw that the pursuit of money or lust and honour stood in the way only so long as they were sought for their own sake, and not as means towards other ends. If, however, they are sought as means, they will keep within bounds and stand least in the way, but on the contrary will serve greatly towards the end for which they are sought.

The True Good

Here I will only say briefly what I understand by the true good, and at the same time what is the supreme good. In order that it may be understood rightly, it should be noted that good and bad can only be said to be respective or relative terms. One and the same thing, therefore, can be said to be

good and bad in different respects; in the same way also perfect and imperfect.[1] For nothing, considered in itself, can be said to be perfect or imperfect, especially since we know that all things that are made, are made according to the eternal order and fixed laws of Nature. But as human weakness cannot grasp that order by its own thinking, and meanwhile man conceives another human nature more firm than his own, and at the same time sees nothing to hinder him from acquiring such a nature, he is urged on to seek for means that will lead him to such perfection. And all that which can be a means to come by it, is called the true good.

The Supreme Good

But the supreme good is to come by it in such a way that he, together with other individuals if that is possible, may enjoy such a nature. And that nature is undoubtedly the knowledge of the unity which the mind has with the whole of Nature. This then is the end at which I aim, namely to strive to acquire such a nature myself, and also that many may acquire it together with me—that is, it is essential for my happiness also to endeavour that many others together with me should understand the same, and that their understanding and desire should be in perfect harmony with my understanding and desire.[2]

The Means Thereto

And in order that this may be so, it is necessary, (1) to understand as much of Nature as is sufficient to acquire such a nature, (2) to form such a community or society as is desirable

[1] See the first instalment, p. 83 ff.

[2] This difference between the "True" and the "Supreme" Good is important. It illustrates one aspect of the difference between the Two Paths of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools in Buddhism, the latter seeking the True Good (Nirvāna) for oneself, the former seeking to share it with all others.

Can there be bliss when all that lives must suffer?
Shalt thou be saved and hear the whole world cry?

(*The Voice of The Silence*, 307)

in order that the greatest number may with the greatest ease and safety come by it, (3) application should be made to Moral Philosophy and to the science of the Education of Children. And because health is not an unimportant means to obtain this end, it is necessary to build up, (4) a whole Medicine. And because many things which are difficult, are rendered easy by art, and we can thereby gain much time and benefit, therefore, (5) is Mechanics in no way to be despised. But before all else, (6) a method must be thought out to improve the understanding, as far as possible from the beginning, so that it may more happily and in the highest degree without error, understand things. From this any one may see that I wish to direct all sciences towards one end and aim, namely to attain the highest human perfection, and therefore must all those things in the sciences which do not advance us towards this our end and aim be rejected, that is in one word, all our works or actions together with our thoughts must be directed towards this end.

Rules of Life

But because, while we take pains to pursue it, and devote ourselves to guide the understanding along the right way, we must needs live, therefore we are compelled before all else to accept certain rules of life as good for our purpose, namely these:

1. To speak according to the comprehension of the vulgar, and to do all those things which will not hinder us from attaining our aim. For we can obtain great advantage from this that we adapt ourselves as far as possible to their comprehension. Add to this that thereby they may lend friendly ears to listen to the truth.[1]

[1] This is also a very important idea in Mahāyāna Buddhism, called upāya-jñāna, or the art of Skilful Means. Through his great compassionate heart,

2. To enjoy so much of the delights of life as is sufficient to maintain health.[1]

3. Finally, to seek only so much money, or any other goods, as suffices to preserve life and health, and to follow such civic customs as are not opposed to our aims.

The Power of Reason[2]

We shall now treat of the power of reason and first show how reason alone may avail against the passions, then what freedom of mind or happiness is, from which things we shall learn how much mightier the wise man is than the ignorant, and before all, how much and what kind of authority mind and reason have over the passions to master and moderate them. For, we have not absolute authority over them. Because the power of the mind is determined by the understanding alone, therefore the remedies against the passions, which all indeed feel but do not observe correctly nor see clearly, will also be determined from the knowledge of the mind alone, and from it also all those things will be derived which regard man's happiness.

Separate Passion from its Cause[3]

If we separate an emotion or passion of the mind from the thought of its external cause and join it instead with other

which felt itself beating in union with the hearts and minds of all other creatures, the Buddha always found means to adapt his teachings to the understanding of all and each of his hearers, not preaching to them from an inaccessible height of abstract philosophy and metaphysics, but descending down to the practical needs of his audience, speaking their language, and so winning the friendly ears of all and sundry. In this way is to be understood what is sometimes said of the Great Teachers' "speaking in many languages," that is to say, of their being understood by "every one in his own language."

[1] See the previous instalment, p. 92-3.

[2] Preface to *Ethica* V.

[3] Pro. 2.

thoughts then the love or hate towards that external cause, as also the wavering of the mind which arises from such passions, will cease to be.

Understand the Passions[1]

A passion ceases to be a passion as soon as we form a clear and distinct idea of it, and therefore, the more we know of it the more power we have over it and the less we suffer from it.

[2] Every one has the power clearly and distinctly to understand himself and his passions, if not absolutely then at least partly. Consequently he is able to contrive that he suffers least from them. Principal care should therefore be given to this that we learn to know every passion clearly and distintly so far as possible. Thus the mind may be led away from the passion to think only of such things as it can perceive clearly and distinctly and with which it entirely agrees. Thereby the passion itself is separated from the thought of its external cause and joined to true thoughts. From which will follow, not only that love, hate, desire, etc., cease to be but also that other passions or desires which usually arise from such a passion, cannot come to excess but are kept within bounds.

First it is to be observed that it is one and the same desire which makes man act as well as suffer.[3] For example, human nature is thus constituted that every one desires all

[1] Pro. 3.

[2] Pro. 4.

[3] "Suffer" here means the exact opposite of "act," in the same way as "passions" are the exact opposite of "actions." Desires can make us either "active" or "passive," make us "do" or "undergo" something. This depends on whether they arise from within, or are aroused from without. Spinoza calls the former "guided by reason," the latter "not guided by reason", but for example by greed, lust, fame.

others to live according to his way of living, which desire in a man who is not guided by reason is a passion called ambition, and not differing much from pride. In a man on the other hand who lives by the dictates of reason it is an action or virtue called piety. In this manner all cravings or desires are passions only in so far as they arise from inadequate ideas. But the same are counted as virtues when they are called or brought forth by adequate ideas.

To return now to that from which I have digressed, we cannot think of a better remedy against passions than true knowledge of them, which it is in our power to obtain. For, the mind has no other power than the power to think and to form adequate ideas.

Understand that All Things are Necessary[1]

In so far as the mind understands that all things are necessary in so far has it greater power over them or suffers less from them.

The more this thought that all things are necessary dwells on single things of which we have a more distinct and vivid impression, the greater is this power of the mind over the passions. Which is also affirmed by experience. For we see that the sorrow for some possession which has been lost is softened as soon as the man who lost it realizes that it could by no means have been preserved. So also we see that nobody pities infants because they cannot speak, or walk, or reason, or have so many years to live as it were unknowing of themselves. But if most children were born as adults, then every one would pity infants, for then he would consider the infant not as a natural and necessary thing but as a failure or sin of Nature.

[1] Pro. 6.

Passions Contrary to Our Nature[1]

As long as we are not harassed by passions contrary to our nature so long have we the power of arranging and interlinking the passions of the body in the order prescribed by the understanding.

The best we can do so long as we have not a perfect knowledge of our passions, is to think of the right way of living or of certain rules of life, so that they may widely influence our imagination and be always on hand. For example, as one of the rules of life we have stated that hate is to be conquered by love or generosity but not by returning hate for hate. In order however that we may always have this precept of reason ready at hand whenever it may be needed, we should often think of and meditate on the common injustices of men and how and in what way they may be counteracted by generosity, for thus we shall join the images of the injustices to the images of these rules of life, so that the latter will always be present in our mind whenever an injustice is done to us. And if we thus have always in mind the rule of what is really for our good, and also the good that follows from mutual friendship and common society, and further that from the right way of living springs the highest quiescence of mind, and that men as well as all other things act from the necessity of Nature—then the injustice or the hate which actually springs from it, will occupy the least part of the imagination and will be easily mastered. Or, if the anger which usually arises from the greatest injustices is not so easily mastered, still it may be mastered, though not without some wavering of mind, in a much shorter length of time than if we had not premeditated these things.

[1] Pro. 10.

In the same way we have to think of courage in order to put away fear, that is to say to enumerate and often to represent to ourselves the common dangers of life, and how by presence of mind and fortitude they may best be avoided and overcome. But it is to be observed that in the ordering of our thoughts and representations we must always pay attention to those things which in every thing are good, so that thus we may always be determined to act by the emotion of joy. For example, if somebody sees that he runs too much after glory, he should think of its right use, and to what end it should be pursued, and by what means it ought to be acquired, but not of its abuse and vanity and human inconstancy or other such things, of which nobody thinks than the sick of mind only. For by such thoughts the ambitious are then most afflicted when they despair to obtain the honour which they are seeking. And while they spew forth their rage, they want to appear wise. From which it is evident that those are the greatest lovers of glory, who clamour most of its abuse and of the world's vanity. Nor is this private to the ambitious only, but common to all to whom destiny is adverse, and who are impotent of mind. For the poor miser does not cease to talk of the abuse of money and the vices of the rich, which has no other effect than to afflict himself and to show to others that he not only bears his own poverty but also the wealth of others with a discontented mind. So also those who are ill received by their love think of nothing else than the inconstancy of women, of their false mind, and their other well-known failings, all which thoughts however they immediately send back into oblivion as soon as they are again well received by their love. He who thus tries to moderate his passions and desires, solely from love of freedom, he will strive as much as he can to know the virtues and their causes, to fill the

mind with the delights arising from the true knowledge of them, and least of all to contemplate men's vices, to revile men, and to delight in a kind of false freedom. And he who will observe and practise these things diligently, for they are not so difficult, he will certainly in a short length of time be able to bring most of his actions under the reign of reason.

The Love of God

[1] The mind can reduce each and all of the affects of the body, or the images of things, to the idea of God. For, everything that is, is in God, and without God can neither be nor be conceived. [That is to say, to have an adequate and correct or "clear and distinct" idea of a thing, we have to follow it up or bring it back to and thus connect it with the idea of God. As long as this connection is not laid, the idea of the thing is still inadequate and incorrect or "confused and fragmentary."]

[2] He who understands clearly and distinctly himself and his affections loves God, and so much the better does he love him as he better understands himself and his affections. [To know one's passions is to know oneself (II, 19, 23), to know oneself is to come to greater perfection (III, 53), to come to greater perfection is joy (III, 11), and joy with the accompanying thought of its external cause is love (III, App. 6). Therefore, as more and more of our passions are getting adequately known to us, or reduced to God, more and more love towards God will be engendered in us. And if all the affections of the body are thus reduced to God, then]

[3] This love towards God must occupy the mind most.

[1] Pro. 14.
[2] Pro. 15.
[3] Pro. 16.

[1] God is free from passions, nor is he affected by the emotions of joy or sorrow. Therefore, so to say, God neither loves nor hates anybody.

[2] Nobody can hate God, and love towards God can never change into hate towards God. For no sorrow can accompany the idea of God. But it may be objected that God being understood as the cause of all things, he must be considered also as the cause of sorrow. But to this I answer that in so far as we understand the cause of sorrow, in so far it ceases to be a passion, that is, it ceases to be a sorrow [and is replaced by joy]. And therefore, in so far as we understand God to be the cause of sorrow, in so far do we rejoice. [That is to say, a sorrow gone is a joy gained, and joy lost is a sorrow the more. The mind cannot be empty or indifferent. It is always filled either with joy or sorrow, it is always either active or passive, creative or suffering. There is no other state. Joy and sorrow are as it were always pressing against each other, and whenever one gives way, the other takes its place.]

[3] He who loves God cannot strive that God may love him in return. For then God would not be God (Pro. 17).

[4] This love towards God cannot be stained by the passions of envy or jealousy but grows the stronger the more people we imagine joined to God by this same bond of love. [For this love towards God is the highest good and therefore we cannot but desire that all may share in it, which absolutely excludes envy or jealousy. On the contrary, it will grow the stronger the more our mind is occupied with thoughts of other people sharing in it.] There exists no passion which is directly opposed to this love, by which this love itself might

[1] Pro. 17.
[2] Pro. 18.
[3] Pro. 19.
[4] Pro. 20.

be destroyed. Of all passions this love towards God is the most constant, nor in so far as it is connected with the body can it be destroyed except together with the body. But of what nature this love is, when solely connected with the mind, we shall see later.

Remedies against Passions

From all this it follows that the mind, considered in itself alone, has power over the passions,

I. in the knowledge itself of the passions ;

II. in that which separates the passion from the confused thought of its external cause ;

III. in the time by which the emotions that are connected with things well understood surpass those thoughts which are connected with things confusedly and fragmentarily conceived ;

IV. in a multitude of causes by which affections connected with things of general properties or with God are strengthened ;

V. finally, in the order and mutual concatenation which the mind is able to give to its passions.

But that this power of the mind over the passions may be better understood, there is first to be observed that we call passions great when we compare the passion of one man with the passion of another, and see one more than another afflicted with the same passion ; or when we compare the passions of one and the same man amongst themselves and find the same man more affected or moved by one passion than by another. For the force of any passion is determined by the power of the external cause as compared with our own power over it. But the power of the mind is determined solely by its knowledge ; its impotence or passion on the other hand is estimated solely by the absence of knowledge or by

that through which we call an idea inadequate. From which follows that the mind whose greatest part consists of inadequate ideas suffers most, so that it is distinguished by what it suffers more than by what it does. And that on the on the other hand that mind does most whose greatest part consists of adequate ideas, so that though this one may have as many adequate ideas as another, yet he is distinguished by having more such thoughts as belong to human virtues than such as prove human impotence. Further it is to be remarked that the mind's sorrows and misfortunes draw their origin preferably from an excessive love for something which is subject to multifarious changes and of which we can never be master. For nobody is solicitous or anxious for anything which he does not love, nor do injustices, suspicions, enmities, etc. arise except from love for things of which nobody in truth can be truly master. From which therefore we easily see what power clear and distinct knowledge which has its foundation in the knowledge of God himself, has over the passions, which namely in so far as they are passions are destroyed by it, if not absolutely, then at least so far that they take up the least part of the mind. It further gives birth to a love for an immutable and eternal thing of which we are in truth fully master and this love cannot therefore be corrupted by any of the evils which are inherent in common love but can always become stronger and stronger and fill up the greatest part of the mind and widely influence it.

The Human Mind

[1] In God there is necessarily an idea which expresses the essence of this and that human body under the aspect of eternity.

[1] Pro. 22.

[1] The human mind cannot be absolutely destroyed with the body but something of it which is eternal remains. But it cannot be that we remember to have existed before the body, neither can eternity be defined by time or have any relation with time. But nevertheless do we feel that we are eternal. For, the mind does no less feel those things which it conceives in the understanding than those which it remembers. For, the eyes of the mind by which it sees and observes things are proofs in themselves. Therefore, although we do not remember that we have existed before our body, yet do we feel that our mind in so far as it involves the essence of the body under the aspect of eternity is itself eternal and that this its existence cannot be defined by time or explained by duration. Our mind therefore can be said to have duration and its existence can be defined by a certain time only in so far as it involves the actual existence of the body and so far only has it the power of determining the existence of things in time and of conceiving them under the aspect of duration.

Understanding and Intuition

[2] The better we understand individual things the better we understand God.

[3] It appears clearly that we perceive many things and form universal notions.

I. From individual things represented by the understanding to the senses in a mutilated, confused and disorderly manner and such perceptions I have therefore been wont to call knowledge from vague experience.

II. From signs, for example when we remember things from having heard or read certain words, and form certain

[1] Pro. 23.
[2] Pro. 24.
[3] Pro. 40 of Part II.

ideas of them similar to those words, through which ideas we imagine or fancy things. Both these ways of contemplating things I shall hereafter call opinion or fancy.

III. From our having common notions and adequate ideas of the properties of things and I shall call this reason.

IV. Besides these two kinds of knowledge there is a third which we shall call intuitive knowledge. And this kind of knowledge proceeds from an adequate idea of the formal essence of certain attributes of God towards the adequate knowledge of the essence of things.

All this I shall explain by one example. Let there be three numbers from which a fourth is to be obtained which shall be to the third as the second is to the first. Merchants will not hesitate to multiply the second by the third and to divide the product by the first, namely because they have not yet forgotten what they have heard from the teacher without any demonstration (II), or because they have found it so with the smaller numbers (I), or by force of the demonstration of Proposition 19, Book 7, of Euclid, namely by the common property of proportions (III). But with the smallest numbers there is no need for all this. For example, if the numbers 1, 2, 3 are given, nobody fails to see that the fourth proportionate number is 6 and this is seen much clearer because from the proportion itself, which by one intuition we see the first bear to the second, we conclude the fourth itself (IV).

[1] The highest striving of the mind and its highest virtue is to understand things by the intuition.

[2] Our mind, in so far as it knows itself and the body under the aspect of eternity, has necessarily a knowledge of

[1] Pro. 25.

[2] Pro. 30.

God and knows that it is in God and is conceived through God. For, to conceive things under the aspect of eternity is to conceive things in so far as they are conceived through the essence of God as real beings or in so far as through the essence of God they involve existence.

[1] The intuition depends upon the mind as its formal cause in so far as the mind itself is eternal. The more powerful therefore every one's intuition is, the deeper he is conscious of himself and of God, that is, the more perfect and the happier he is.

[2] From this intuitive knowledge arises the highest possible patience or peace of mind.

The Understanding Love of God

[3] Whatever we understand by the intuition, in that we delight and this with the accompanying idea of God as the cause. From the intuition therefore necessarily arises the understanding love of God. For from the intuitive knowledge of God arises joy accompanied by the idea of God as the cause, that is, the love of God,[4] not in so far as we fancy him to be present in time but in so far as we understand him to be eternal. Although this love towards God has no beginning, yet it has all the perfections of love as if they had arisen gradually. The mind has had these same perfections eternally and that with the accompanying idea of God as the eternal cause. If joy consists in the transition to a greater perfection,[5] happiness must certainly consist in this that the mind is endowed with perfection itself.

[1] Pro. 31.
[2] Pro. 27.
[3] Pro. 32-33.
[4] Love is joy with the accompanying idea of the eternal cause (Def. 6 of the Emotions).
[5] Def. 2 of the Emotions.

[1] No love except understanding love is eternal. If we consider the common opinion of men we shall find that they are rightly conscious of the eternity of their minds but they confound it with duration and attribute it to imagination or memory which they believe to remain after death.

God's Love Towards Himself

[2] God loves himself with infinite understanding love. The understanding love of the mind towards God is the very love of God with which he loves himself, not in so far as he is infinite but in so far as he can be unfolded through the essence of the human mind considered under the aspect of eternity, that is, the understanding love of the mind towards God is part of the infinite love with which God loves himself. Hence it follows that God's love towards men and the mind's understanding love towards God are one and the same.

[3] There is nothing in Nature which is contrary to this understanding love or which can bring it to nought.

Reason, Intuition and Death

[4] From this we clearly understand in what consists our well-being, happiness or freedom, namely in the constant and eternal love towards God or in God's love towards men. And this love or happiness, whether it has reference to God or to the mind, can rightly be called patience or peace of mind. Because the essence of our mind consists only in knowledge, of which the beginning and the foundation is God, hence it is clear to us why and how our mind, as regards its essence and

[1] Pro. 34.
[2] Pro. 35-36.
[3] Pro. 37.
[4] Pro. 36.

existence, follows from the divine Nature and continually depends upon God. This shows how the knowledge of individual things, that I said to be of the intuition, is much more powerful and better than the universal knowledge, that I have said to be of the reason.

[1] The more things the mind understands by reason and intuition, the less it suffers from evil passions and the less it fears death, for death does the less harm, the more the knowledge of the mind is clear and distinct, and consequently, the more the mind loves God. Again, because from the intuition arises the greatest patience, hence it follows that the human mind can be of such a nature that, what of it perishes with the body, compared with what of it remains, is of no consequence whatever.

[2] He who has a body capable of many things, has a mind the greater part of which is eternal. Because human bodies are capable of many things, there is no doubt but that they may be of such a nature as has reference to minds that have great knowledge of themselves and of God and whose greatest or principal part is eternal and therefore should hardly fear death.

Perfection and Action

[3] The more perfection any thing has, the more it acts and the less it suffers; and conversely, the more it acts, the more perfect it is. Hence it follows that the part of the mind which remains after death, however much or little this may be, is more perfect than the rest. For, the eternal part of the mind is the understanding through which alone we act. But that

[1] Pro. 38.
[2] Pro. 39.
[3] Pro. 40.

part which perishes is the fancy or imagination through which alone we suffer. From this it is apparent that our mind, in so far as it understands, is an eternal mode of thought or knowledge which is determined by another eternal mode of thought and this again by another and so on to infinity, so that they all together constitute the eternal and infinite understanding of God.

Piety and Religion, Valour and Generosity

[1] Even if we did not know that our mind is eternal, yet we should hold piety and religion, and absolutely all those things which are related to valour and generosity, higher than all else. The common conviction of the vulgar seems to be different. For, most people seem to believe that they are free in so far as they are allowed to yield to their lusts, and that they renounce their right in so far as they are bound to live according to the prescripts of the divine law. They therefore believe that piety and religion and absolutely everything which is related to fortitude of mind, are burdens which after death they hope to lay down and to receive a reward for their servitude, namely for their piety and religion. Nor by this hope alone but also and chiefly for fear, namely that after death they will be punished with dire torments, are they induced to live according to the prescripts of the divine law, as much as their feebleness and impotent mind permits. And if this hope and fear were not in men, and if on the contrary they believed that their minds perish with the body, and that for the miserable creatures worn out by the burden of piety there does not remain any longer to live, they would turn to their own inclination, direct everything by their lust, and obey fortune rather than themselves. All this seems to me no less

[1] Pro. 41.

absurd than if a man, because he does not believe it possible to feed his body forever with good food, should desire to satiate himself with poisonous and deadly things, or because he sees that the mind is not eternal or immortal, should therefore rather wish to live mindless and without reason, all which is so absurd that it hardly deserves to be mentioned.

Happiness is Virtue

[1] Happiness is not the wages of virtue but virtue itself, nor do we enjoy happiness because we restrain our lusts but on the contrary, because we enjoy happiness therefore are we able to restrain our lusts. From all this it is apparent how powerful is the wise man and mightier than the ignorant who is driven by lust only. For, the ignorant man, besides being agitated in many ways, never obtains true peace of mind, and he lives moreover as it were unconscious of himself, of God, and of things, and as soon as he ceases to suffer he also ceases to be. The wise man on the other hand is scarcely moved in his mind by external causes but is conscious of God, of himself, and of things by a certain eternal necessity, and he never ceases to be but always possesses true peace of mind.

If the way which I have shown to lead to this seems very hard, yet it can be found. And it must indeed be very hard to be so seldom found. For, if our well-being were so near and were procurable without great labour, how could it then be that it is neglected by almost all ? But all things are as difficult as they are rare.

[1] Pro. 42.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF GOSVĀMI NṚSIṀHĀS'RAMA OF DARA SHUKOH'S SANSKRIT LETTER WITH BRAHMENDRA SARASVATI OF THE KAVĪNDRA CANDRODAYA (BETWEEN A.D. 1628 AND 1658)

By P. K. Gode, M.A.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja [1] published in 1940 an interesting sanskrit letter of Mohamed Dara Shukoh, the son of Shah Jahan and half-brother of Aurangzeb. The particulars of this letter as given by Dr. Raja may be noted below :

(1) The letter is " written to Gosvami Nṛsiṁha Saraswati [2] as noticed in lines eleven to thirteen of Section (24)."

(2) It is " more an address than a letter."

(3) Its MS. is in the Adyar Library (No. XI. D. 4) [Vide p. 2 (b) of *Adyar Cata.* II, 1928 and MS. No. 3111 of R.A.S.B. Cata, IV, as also *Kavīndrācārya Sūcī*, G.O.S. Baroda, No. XVII, Preface. See also, *Ind. Office Cata.* VII, (1904) MS. No. 3947 on p. 499 and Mitra's *Notices* X, MS. No. 4028].

(4) The MS. bears the date *Saṁvat* 1805 (1748 *A.D.*) " मितिराश्विनशुक्लतृतीयायां संवत् १८०५ अष्टादशशतोत्तरपञ्चमाब्दे " This cannot be the date of the letter. It

[1] Vide pp. 87 to 94 of *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pt. 3, October 1940.

[2] The text of Dara Shukoh's letter reads " गोस्वामि नृसिंहाश्रमेषु "

must be the " date of transcription or more probably the date given should be Saṁvat 1705 (1648 *A.D.*) if it is Dara Shukoh's date."

(5) The letter of Dara Shukoh must have ended with Section (24)—" इति अष्टाक्षरमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः सन्ति " ॥ २४ ॥ The remainder (Sections 25 to 31) must be another letter by one रामानुज and it mentions a letter from साहजीक, who may be साहजी of Tanjore (1684-1711 *A.D.*) or Shah Jahan (1628-1658 *A.D.*).

(6) Both the letters are found in the same MS.

(7) There is no need to alter the date " Saṁvat " 1805 as it is reasonable to take it as the date of transcription.

I am concerned here with the first of these letters which gives the name of *Dara Shukoh* and the addressee *Nṛsiṁhās'rama* at the end of Section 24, which reads as follows: " . . . . सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपेषु महायतिवरभूपेषु परिकल्पितनिर्विकल्पसमाधिविध्वस्तसंसारमहाश्रमेषु श्रीगोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रमेषु प्रकटितपरमानन्दसंदोहतत्वज्ञानदूरीकृतमहामोहसमवगतसप्तभूमिकासमारोहमहम्मददाराशिकोहकृता ओंनमोनारायणायेत्यष्टाक्षरमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः संति ॥ २४ ॥

I propose to identify "गोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रम" with ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती who was a resident of Benares and a contemporary of Shah Jahan (1628-1658 *A.D.*). My evidence for the proposed identification is as follows :

(1) There is a निर्णयपत्र[1] dated S'aka 1579 (= A.D. *1657*) endorsed by about 75 learned Brahmins of

[1] Vide p. 78 of चितळेभट्टप्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, 1926 " मुक्तिमंडपांतील निर्णय शक. १५७९ सन. १६५७."

Benares who had assembled to settle the Caste dispute about the देवर्षि Brahmins. This निर्णयपत्र of *A.D. 1657* contains the following endorsements :

(1) "संमतार्थोऽयं पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती यतेः"

(22) "संमतश्चार्थोऽयं ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययतेर्नृसिंहाश्रमस्य" ।

It is clear from the second endorsement quoted above that there lived at Benares in *A.D. 1657* a Sanyāsin called नृसिंहाश्रम [1] who was more popularly known as "**ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती.**" He was also contemporary of another Sanyāsin "पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती" whose endorsement appears first on the above निर्णयपत्र, which is endorsed by such worthies as गागाभट्ट, खण्डदेव etc.

(2) Rāmāśrama quotes Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita[2] in his *Durjanamukha-Capeṭikā*. Bhaṭṭoji's career ended about *A.D.* 1620. Rāmāśrama[3] is, therefore, later than Bhaṭṭoji. He is also later than पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती and ब्रह्मेन्द्र सरस्वती as these persons are mentioned by him in his दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका (B.O.R.

[1] This नृसिंहाश्रम is different from नृसिंहाश्रम, the *Guru* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, who composed works in *A.D.* 1547 and 1558 (Vide my paper on Bhaṭṭoji's date in *Annals* (Tirupati), Vol. I, (1940) pp. 117—124.

[2] Folio 2 of B. O. R. Institute MS. *No. 139 of 1891-95.*
"**भट्टोजिदीक्षितैः** भागवतं स्वीकृतम्."

[3] One रामाश्रम composed a work तत्वचन्द्रिका (MS. No. 2906 described by R. Mitra, *Notices*, X, Calcutta, 1888). He was a pupil of one नृसिंहाश्रम (colophon :—"इति परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभगवन्**नृसिंहाश्रम**-पूज्यपादशिष्य **श्रीरामाश्रम**विरचिता तत्वचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा। शकाब्दाः १६७८") who is *earlier* than *1756 A. D.* Is this नृसिंहाश्रम identical with नृसिंहाश्रम (*A. D. 1547, 1558*) *or* with नृसिंहाश्रम (alias ब्रम्हेन्द्रसरस्वती) endorsing a निर्णयपत्र in *A. D. 1657* at मुक्तिमंडप in Benares ?

Institute MS. *No. 139 of 1891-95*, folio 2—पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्यादिभि: ") He may have been a junior contemporary of पूर्णेन्द्र and ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती quoted by him as authorities.

(3) The *Kavīndra Candrodaya*, Poona, 1939 (between *A.D.* 1628 and 1658) contains the following tribute to कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती from his contemporary of Benares :

P. 29—"स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तगुणरत्नाकरेषु . . . . . . सार्वभौमप्रभृतिसकलमहीपालसंतोषावहसकलकलाविराजमानेषु ४ महोदारमहाशयपरमाप्त श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीप्रभुवरेषु ५ ॥ ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वतीनाम् ॥

P 2—श्रीकृष्ण उपाध्याय refers to पूर्णेन्द्र and ब्रह्मेन्द्र in his description of कवीन्द्राचार्य which reads :

"विख्यातकीर्तिः पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्राद्यभिनन्दितः" ।

P. 24—Pūrṇendra and Brahmendra are again mentioned as leaders of the Sanyāsins of Benares in the following line in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय—

" ब्रह्मेन्द्रपूर्णेन्द्रयतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैरशेषैरभिनन्द्यमानः ". We may compare the epithet 'यतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्य" as applied to ब्रह्मेन्द्रयति here with the epithet "महायतिवरभूप" used by Dara Shukoh in his address to नृसिंहाश्रम ।

The foregoing evidence may now be briefly recorded as follows :

A.D. 1628-1658—Brahmendra Sarasvatī was a preeminent Sanyāsin of Benares, highly respected by his contemporaries as shown by references to him

in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय[1] । (MS. of A.D. *1678*) a contemporary record of Shah Jahan's time.

A.D. 1620-1660—Rāmāsrama, the author of दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका, who was possibly a junior contemporary of ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती refers to him in this work.

A.D. 1628-1658—Dara Shukoh in his address to नृसिंहाश्रम calls him यतिवरभूप, an expression similar to the expression "यतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैः applied to ब्रह्मेन्द्र in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय in which the contact of कवीन्द्राचार्य with Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh is expressly stated on p. 23 as follows :

"येन श्री साहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत् ।
किं चावश्यं प्रपन्नः पुनरपि विहितः शाहिदाराशकोहः ॥"

A.D. 1657—The निर्णयपत्र of A.D. *1657* drawn up at मुक्तिमण्डप in Benares discloses for the first time that ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती is identical with नृसिंहाश्रम ("ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययतेः नृसिंहाश्रमस्य") ।

In view of the above contemporary evidence of the *Kavīndra Candrodaya*,[2] the *Durjanamukha Capeṭikā* of one Rāmāsrama, Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit Address and the *Nirṇayapatra*[3] drawn up at Muktimaṇḍapa in Benares, I am

[1] The Calcutta MS. of the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय (Mitra's *Notices*, II, MS. No. 815) is dated A.D. *1678* (Saṁvat 1734). Vide p. 1 of Intro. by H. D. Sharma and M. M. Patkar to कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय.

[2] Vide my paper on "Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court"—*Annals* (Tirupati), Vol. I, pt. 4, pp. 1—16.

[3] This is a valuable document as it contains the endorsements of about 75 learned men of Benares who lived in the middle of the 17th century. Though this document is published in the Marathi book—"चितळेभट्टप्रकरण" by R. S. Pimputkar in 1926 I propose to

inclined to believe that गोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रम to whom Dara Shukoh sent his Sanskrit address is no other than ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती referred to in contemporary documents by this popular name.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar [1] make the following remarks regarding ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती of the *Kavīndra Candrodaya* :

" 51. *Brahmendra Sarasvatī*, pupil of Devendra and the author of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (*CC.* I, 389^{a}) and *Advaitāmṛta* [2] (*CC.* II, 88^{a})."

These remarks need to be examined in the light of the evidence brought forth in this paper.

edit it again as an appendix to one of my projected papers with historical notes on the identification of at least some of these learned men. It may be noted here that some of the contributors to *Kavīndra Candrodaya* are signatories to this निर्णयपत्र of A.D. 1657.

[1] *Kavīndra Candrodaya*, Poona, 1939, Intro., p. ix.

[2] The India Office MS. of अद्वैतामृत indicates writing of the "*17th century*" (Vide p. 771 of *I.O. Cata.*, IV, 1894—MS. No. 2405).

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

INTRODUCTION

IN the following pages we give a list of manuscripts in the possession of Trichinopoly Krishna Iyer of Negapatam, as is noticed in a copy of it in the Library. This copy is not entered in the catalogue of the Adyar Library in two volumes published in 1926 and 1928. It is a small note book in quarto size with a thick wrapper. It is written in Grantha script with country ink and the writing is getting faded. The title is given on the outside of the wrapper cover as *An Index to Sanskrit Literature* and under this there is the entry " very valuable." In Grantha script is also written " grandha jāptā", *i.e.* " collection of books." There is on the outside of the wrapper the round label of the Library with the shelf-number IX. F. 14. This number is also given on the square label of the Library on the inside of the wrapper cover. On the first page of the first sheet left blank, there is written in copying pencil as follows :

Catalogue of MSS. at the private Library of Trichinopoly Krishna Iyer's House at Negapatam.

This first sheet is white paper. The body of the book is light green paper. One such sheet is also left blank and on the second of the green sheets the list begins. The list is given in two columns. In most cases there is writing only on

one page; but occasionally both pages are utilised. Sometimes only a part of a page has writing. The works are arranged under subject-headings. There is also a list of printed books in the collection, which we are not giving here. The list is not noticed by Oppert. We tried to get some information about the owner, but were not able to get any clue in the matter. There is no way of ascertaining the date when this list was made or the person who made it. The wrapper cover must once have been used to send a Book-Post Parcel to Reverend H. Little, Wesleyan Mission, Negapatam, as this address is still clear on the wrapper. There is also the entry "amped (evidently part of stamped) six annas." "Book-Post" is also retained on the wrapper. There are bits of postage stamps, but their value and the date of the post-office seal cannot be ascertained.

The list contains many names that are rare. Under Nighaṇṭus the entries Hari and Viṣṇu are unknown works. Whether Kathākos'a is a lexicon is not certain. Vācaspatya *Bṛhadabhidhāna* is the work of Taranatha Tarkavachaspati printed during the life-time of the author (1873 A.D). The list probably refers to the printed edition of this and the mention of it among MSS. here is a mistake. *Bommakhaṇḍīya* is a mistake for *Bommagaṇṭīya*, the commentary of Bommagaṇṭi Appaya on the *Amarakos'a*. *Das'arūpaka* (if it is a lexicon), *Sindhuyogasaṃgraha*, *Nārāyaṇīya* and *Darpaṇa* are rare works. It is not known if the *Dhanañjayavijaya* in the list is the same as the lexicon Dhanañjaya.

Among Kāvyas it is not known what *Kāvyasaṃgraha* is. *S'atakandharavijayādiṣaṣṭikāvyās* are really interesting and hitherto unknown. *Satyāprīṇana*, *Kātyāyanīpariṇaya*, *Kavikulānanda*, *Govardhanoddharaṇa*, *Vidhavāvis'varūpa*, *Ramomāhasana*, *Saudharma* and *Prahasana* also deserve mention as

rare works. The author of *Mallikāmāruta* is given as Daṇḍin, which name is a mistake for Uddaṇḍa. The author of *Candrāloka* is mentioned as *Kālidāsa*.

Under Alaṃkāra, etc. *Mānasollāsa* and *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* refer to one and the same work. *Chandaḥprastāras'ekhara* of Veṅkaṭarāya is a hitherto unknown work. *S'abdastomamahānidhi* is known to us, but not *Chandaḥstomamahānidhi* which is mentioned here. The latter is perhaps a mistake for the former. *Ekadvyādilagakriyāvāntaravicāragrantha* of Rājagopālarāyà, *Bharatas'rutirañjanīya*, *Sāhityapārijāta*, *Abhinayakolāhala*, *Jaiminīyavṛtti*, (if a work on Alaṃkāra or Chandas) and *Netrānanda* are some of the rare works in this section. *Vāṇībhūṣana*, attributed here to Bhavabhūti, is probably the same as the work of Dāmodara which is printed in the Kāvyamālā Series, Bombay. *Citraratnākara* is the work of Cakrakavi. It is not known what works are meant by *Bharata* and *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī*. *Bharatārṇavapota* is here mentioned for the first time and nothing is known about it. *Vālmikirṣipraṇītasūtra* may be the work on Prākṛt grammar attributed to him.

In the section called Ādikāvyas *Durvāsarāmāyaṇa* and *Saṃvidrāṃāyaṇa* are works on which we have no information at present. *Tattvasaṃgraharāmāyaṇa* is noticed by Aufrecht (*C.C.*, I. 220).

The Purāṇas are given separately as S'aiva etc. in the list. *Nandikes'vara Upapurāṇa* is probably the *Nandipurāṇa* which is known to us only through quotations.

So far only the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are known to us as Itihāsas. A third work *viz.* *S'ivarahasya* is also here called Itihāsa.

Mṛcchakaṭikaṭīkā is wrongly included among Smṛtis. The collection, it will be found, is rich in Smṛtis.

Mallikāmāruta of Uddaṇḍa is again mentioned under Tarka by mistake.

Bhārgavasūtra is a rare work in the Jyotiṣa section.

We do not know anything about a *Bṛhatsiddhāntakaumudī*. It may be a mistake for the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji. It may be noted that the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* is not mentioned in the list and the *Kaumudī* mentioned here is perhaps the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* of Varadarāja. *Dhātupariśuddhi* is a hitherto unknown work. *Vṛttidīpikā* may be the same as the *Vṛttidīpikā* of Maunikṛṣṇa, published in the Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 29. Aufrecht (*C.C.*, I. 598) mentions this, but is not sure which subject it pertains to. He thinks it pertains to Alaṃkāra. *Tarkacandrikā* in the list is probably not a work on grammar. *Vajrataṅkīya* seems to be the Nyāya work of this name.

Among Vedānta works *Pañcadaśaprakaraṇa* may be only *Pañcadaśī*. We have at present no information regarding *Saptadaśaprakaraṇa*, *Saptaprakaraṇa* and *Pañcaprakaraṇa*. *Pañcīkaraṇa* is noticed by Aufrecht (*C.C.*, I. 318) and is known to us. Some *Stotras* are wrongly mentioned in this section of the list. *Nyāyakusumāñjali* may be the work of Udayana which must be under Nyāya. There is a *Kusumāñjali* separately mentioned (same work ?). *Saṭīkanidāna* may be *Mādhavanidāna* (Āyurveda) or the Nidāna section of some other Āyurvedic work which is wrongly listed up under Vedānta. *Lalitavistara* is the Buddhist work. *Caitanyacandrodaya* is the Nāṭaka by Kavikarṇapūra. *Advaitānandaparicheda* of Rāmakṛṣṇa appears to be a rare work. *Nyāyavārtika* is the Nyāya work of Udyotakara. *Maṅgalābharaṇa*, *Anantabrahmalakṣaṇa*, *Jīvanmukhya*(evidntly a mistake for *Jīvanmukta*) *Prakaraṇavyākhyā*, *Manolayaprakaraṇa*, *Nādakaumudī* and some other works are mentioned here of which we know

nothing at present. Some of the works listed in this section pertain to Nyāya or Yoga. *Pañcakaraṇaṭikā* may be a mistake for *Pañcīkaraṇaṭīkā*. The collection will be found rich in Vedānta, Pāñcarātra and S'aiva Āgamas and Tantra, some mythical accounts appearing in the list being excluded.

We have given the list exactly as it is found, with suggested corrections given within brackets.

It is Mr. K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M.O.L., in the staff of the library who located this rare work in the Library collection and he has prepared the press copy of it with the assistance of Mr. K. Ramachandra Sarma, Pandit in the Library.

C. KUNHAN RAJA,
Editor, A. L. B.

ग्रन्थसूची

हरिः ओम

निघण्टवः

१. विश्वप्रकाशः
२. गोपालः
३. शेषकारः
४. धनञ्जयः
५. शब्दार्णवः
६. वैजयन्ती
७. सूर्यः
८. रुद्रः
९. यादवः
१०. प्रतापः
११. वागुरिः
१२. दण्डी (नाममाला)
१३. रासभः (राभसः)
१४. हलायुधः
१५. सुभूतिः
१६. हरिः
१७. विष्णुः
१८. केशवः
१९. भूपालः

२०. वररुचिः
२१. अमरः
२२. अमरशेषः (पुरुषोत्तमः)
२३. अजय्यः
२४. उत्पलः
२५. शाश्वतः
२६. व्याडिकोशः
२७. नानार्थमञ्जरी
२८. नानार्थरत्नमाला
२९. वाचस्पत्यं बृहदभिधान
३०. लिंगानुशासनं सटीकं
३१. मातृकाकोशः (चतुर्भुजशिष्यः)
३२. कथाकोशः (वर्धमानसूरिः)
३३. नामकल्पद्रुमः
३४. हेमचन्द्रकोशः
३५ रत्नकोशः । रभसकोशः
३६. उणादिकोशः (रामशर्मा)
३७. द्विरूपकोशः / हारावलीकोशः
३८. मेदिनीकोशः
३९. त्रिलिंगकोशः
४०. नाममालाकोशः
४१. रूपमालाकोशः
४२. शार्ङ्गधरीयं

अमरकोशव्याख्यानानि

४३. लिंगाभट्टीयं
४४. भट्टोजिदीक्षितीयं
४५. नागोजिभट्टीयं
४६. बप्पूदेवभट्टीयं
४७. बोम्मखण्डी(गण्टी)यं
४८. क्षीरस्वामीयं
४९. अमरटीका रत्नकोशी
५०. दशटीकासर्वस्वं
५१. दशरूपकं
५२. सिंधुयोगसंग्रहं
५३. अभिनवरत्नमालिका
५४. धनञ्जयविजयं
५५. सुधा
५६. नारायणीय
५७. दर्पणं

काव्यानि

५८. नैषधं सटीकं
५९. उत्तरनैषध सटीकं
६०. माघ सटीकं
६१. रघुवंशं सटीकं
६२. कुमारसंभवं सटीकं
६३. मेघसन्देशं सटीकं
६४. भट्टिकाव्यं सटीकं
६५. भारविकाव्यं सटीकं
६६. बालभारतं
६७. श्रीरामोदन्तं
६८. नलोदयं सटीकं
६९. कूरेशकृतं यमकरत्नाकरं
७०. यमकशिखामणिः
७१. देशिककृतं यादवाभ्युदयं काव्यं / अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृततद्व्याख्या
७२. यादवराघवपाण्डवीयं काव्यं
७३. वेंकटाचार्यकृतं यादवराघवीयं काव्यं

७४. देशिककृतमच्युतशतकं प्राकृतभाषा स्तोत्रं
७५. देशिककृतं पादुकासहस्रं स्तोत्रं
७६. वेंकटाचार्यकृतं लक्ष्मीसहस्रं स्तोत्रं
७७. शिशुपालवधं सटीकं
७८. किरातार्जुनीयं सटीकं
७९. काव्यसंग्रहं
८०. ऋतुसंहारं सटीकं
८१. शतकन्धरविजयादिषष्टिकाव्यानि·
८२. कालिदासकृतपुष्पबाणविलासं काव्यं सटीकं
८३. महिषशतकं
८४. पारिजाता(प)हरणं
८५. सत्याप्रीणनं
८६. साहित्यसर्वस्वं (महेश्वरकृतम्)

चंपुग्रन्धाः

८७. भोजचंपुः सटीकं
८८. लक्ष्मणचंपुः सटीकं
८९. लघूत्तरचंपुः
९०. बृहदुत्तरचंपुः
९१. भागवतचंपुः
९२. भारतचंपुः सटीकं
९३. नीलकण्ठचंपुः सटीकं
९४. सुब्रह्मण्यचंपुः
९५. मानवेदीयचंपुः
९६. विश्वगुणादर्शचंपुः सटीकं
९७. हस्तिगिरिचंपुः
९८. विक्रमार्कचंपुः
९९. भोजचरित्रचंपुः
१००. आचार्यविजयचंपुः
१०१. कादंबरीचंपुः सटीकं
१०२. वासवदत्ताचंपुः सटीकं
१०३. देशिकविषयमाचार्यचंपुः
१०४. लक्ष्मीशतकं
१०५. गंगालहरी
१०६. महावीरचरितं
१०७. राजप्रशंस्तिः
१०८. हितोपदेशं सटीकं
१०९. भाषापरिच्छेदं मुक्तावलीसहितं
११०. दशकुमारचरितं सटीकं
१११. पञ्चतन्त्रं
११२. विद्वन्मोदतरंगिणी
११३. माधवचंपु
११४. भोजप्रबन्धं
११५. वेतालपञ्चविंशतिः
११६. चन्द्रशेखरचंपुः
११७. विद्वत्मा(विद्धसा)लभञ्जिका सटीका
११८. श्रीहर्षचरितं भा(बा)णभट्टकृतं
११९. वाचस्पतिचरितं
१२०. शंकरविजयं

नाटकानि

१२१. अनर्घराघवं मुरारिकृतनाटकं सटीकं
१२२. मुद्राराक्षसनाटकं सटीकं
१२३. शाकुन्तलं सटीकं
१२४. विक्रमोर्वशीयं सटीकं
१२५. मालविकाग्निमित्रीयं सटीकं
१२६. मालतीमाधवीयं सटीकं

१२७. जानकीपरिणयं
१२८. सत्यभामापरिणयं
१२९. पार्वतीपरिणयं
१३०. कात्यायनीपरिणयं
१३१. प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयं सटीकं
१३२. संकल्पसूर्योदयं सटीकं
१३३. उत्तररामचरितं सटीकं
१३४. रत्नावली सटीका
१३५. सट्टयं
१३६. महानाटकं सटीकं
१३७. कृष्णभट्टाचार्यकृतं कविकुलानन्दं नाटकं
१३८. दण्डि(उद्दण्ड)कृतं मल्लिकामारुतं नाटकप्रकरणं
१३९. कालिदासकृतं सेतुबन्धं नाटकं
१४०. गोवर्द्धनोद्धरणं व्यायोगं नाटकं
१४१. सौगन्धिकाहरणं व्यायोगं नाटकं
१४२. धनञ्जयविजयं व्यायोगं नाटकं सटीकं
१४३. चण्डकौशिकनाटकं सटीकं
१४४. कमलिनीकलहंसं
१४५. नलोदयं नाटकं
१४६. वेणीसंहारं नाटकं सटीकं
१४७. प्रसन्नराघवनाटकं श्रीजयदेवविरचितं
१४८. श्रीहर्षकविकृतप्रियदर्शिका नाटिका सटीका

भाणानि

१४९. वामनभट्टभाणं
१५०. पुष्पबाणविजयं
१५१. शृंगारतिलकं
१५२. वरदकविकृतं अम्माळ्भाणं
१५३. बिल्हणचरित्रं
१५४. वसन्ततिलकं

प्रहसनानि

१५५. विधवाविश्वरूपं प्रहसनं
१५६. रमोमाहसनं प्रहसनं
१५७. सौधर्म्मं प्रहसनं
१५८. प्रहसनं नाम प्रहसनं

अलंकारलक्षणछन्दोविषयाणि

१५९. श्रीकालिदासकृतं चन्द्रालोकं मूलं।
१६०. तद्व्याख्या बुधरञ्जनी एका।
१६१. अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृततद्व्याख्यानं कुवलयानन्दमित्यन्यत्।
१६२. कुवलयानन्दव्याख्या अलंकारचन्द्रिकाख्या एका।
१६३. बुधरञ्जनीत्यन्या।
१६४. साहित्यसारं मूलं। तद्व्याख्यानं साहित्यरत्नाकरं।
१६५. मानसोल्लासः। अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणिः।
१६६ लक्ष्मीसहस्रं।
१६७. गोपालकृष्णभट्टीयं अलंकारसर्वस्वं।
१६८. पिंगळच्छन्दश्शास्त्रं सटीकं
१६९. वेङ्कटरायकृतच्छन्दःप्रस्तारशेखरं।
१७०. श्रीकालिदासकृतश्रुतबोधं।
१७१. केदारभट्टाचार्यकृतवृत्तरत्नाकरमूलं

१७२. कविशार्दूलश्रीनाथविरचिता धीशोधिनीनामवृत्तरत्नाकर-व्याख्यैका । १ ।

१७३. नारायणपुरोहितविरचिता मणिनिधिर्नाम वृत्तरत्नाकर-व्याख्यैका । २ ।

१७४. ज्ञानदीपाभिधानं गार्ग्यगोपालमिश्रीयमेकं व्याख्यानं । ३ ।

१७५. नृसिंहभागवकृत नृसिंहभागवतीयमेकं व्याख्यानं । ४ ।

आहत्य वृत्तरत्नाकरस्य चत्वारि व्याख्यानानि ।

१७६. श्रीकालिदासकृता वृत्तरत्नावलि· ।

१७७. पिंगळनागसूत्राणि ।

१७८. छन्दोविचितिः ।

१७९. छन्दश्शेखरं ।

१८०. छन्दोमञ्जरी ।

१८१. दशरूपं ।

१८२. राजतरंगिणी ।

१८३. छन्दस्सुधाकरः

१८४. छन्दस्तोममहानिधिः । (शब्दस्तोममहानिधिः) संस्कृताभिधानं ।

१८५. नागानन्दं

१८६. श्रीराजगोपालरायविरचित एकद्व्यादिलगक्रियावान्तरविवेचनग्रन्थः

१८७. भोजकृतं सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणं

१८८. भवभूति(दामोदर)कृतं वाणीभूषणं

१८९. भरतप्रोक्तं कविसिद्धान्तकौमुदी

१९०. शारदातनयविरचितं भरतंभावप्रकाशिका

१९१. विद्यार्णवराज(शिङ्गभूपाल)कृतं रसार्णवसुधाकरं

१९२. रसमञ्जरी । मूलं ।

१९३. एतद्व्याख्यानं । आमोदमेकं ।

१९४. परिमलमेकं ।

१९५. दण्डिकृतं काव्यादर्शं

१९६. काव्यप्रकाशिका सटीका

१९७. काव्यदीपिका ।

१९८. काव्यदर्पणं

१९९. तद्व्याख्यानं लोचनं

२००. नारायणभट्टकृतं कविसमयकल्लोल

२०१. रसगंगाधरं

२०२. रसिकरञ्जनी

२०३. रसनिरूपणं

२०४. तद्व्याख्यान लोकानन्दं

२०५. विद्यानाथकृता अलंकारचन्द्रिका प्रसंगग्रन्थः (वैद्यनाथपायगुण्डकृता कुवलयानन्दव्याख्या)

२०६. विद्यानाथकृतप्रतापरुद्रीयं

२०७. तद्व्याख्यानं रत्नापणं

२०८. अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृतचित्रमीमांसा

२०९. भरतश्रुतिरञ्जनीयं ।

२१०. साहित्यसंजीविनी । (अलङ्कारसर्वस्वव्याख्या—साहित्यविद्याचक्रवर्ती)

२११. साहित्यपारिजातं ।

२१२. साहित्यमीमांसा ।

२१३. सूक्तिमुक्तावली

२१४. साहित्यदर्पणं विश्वनाथकविराजकृतं

२१५. कविकण्ठपाशं

२१६. विदग्धमुखमण्डनं
२१७. चित्ररत्नाकरं (चक्रकवि:)
२१८. संगीतरत्नाकरं
२१९. भावनापुरुषोत्तमाद्यष्टादशरूपकं
२२०. अनेकार्थध्वनिमञ्जरी
२२१. अभिनयदर्पणं
२२२. भरतं ।
२२३. भरतार्णवपर्तिं ।
२२४. रतिरहस्यं
२२५. वात्स्यायनतन्त्रं सूत्रं
२२६. नन्दिकेश्वरसूत्रं
२२७. कात्यायनऋषिप्रणीतप्राकृतव्याकरणसूत्रपाठः
२२८. प्राकृतमञ्जरी
२२९. वाल्मीकिऋषिप्रणीतसूत्रं
२३०. वररुचिसूत्रं
२३१. वररुचिवृत्तिः
२३२. जैमिनीयवृत्तिः
२३३. कालिदासकृतं प्राकृतमणिदीपं
२३४. आप्पय्यदीक्षितकृतं प्राकृतरत्नाकरं
२३५. संगीतकलानिधिः
२३६. संगीतसुधानिधिः
२३७. अभिनयकोलाहलं
२३८. नेत्रानन्दं
२३९. कोक्कोहसूत्रं
२४०. अनंगरंगं
२४१. शृंगारतिलकं
२४२. मदनमञ्जरी
२४३. भामिनीविलासं सटीकं

आदिकाव्यानि

२४४. वाल्मीकिरामायणं
२४५. वासिष्ठरामायणं
२४६. दूर्वासरामायणं
२४७. अगस्त्यरामायणं
२४८. तत्त्वसंग्रहरामायणं
२४९. संविद्रामायणं
२५०. अध्यात्मरामायणं सटीकं

आदिकाव्यव्याख्यानं

२५१. गोविन्दराजीयं
२५२. रामानुजीयं
२५३. कतकटीयं
२५४. माहेश्वरदीक्षितीयं
२५५. वैद्यनाथदीक्षितीयं
२५६. अप्पय्यदीक्षितीयं
२५७. तिलकं

महापुराणानि

२५८. मात्स्यं १४०००
२५९. कूर्म्मं १७०००
२६०. वाराहं २४०००
२६१. वामनं १००००
२६२. ब्राह्मं १००००
२६३. वैष्णवं २३०००
२६४. भागवतं १८०००
२६५. शैवं २४०००
२६६. लैंगं ११०००
२६७. भविष्यत् १४५००
२६८. नारदीयं २५०००

२६९. गारुडं १९०००
२७०. ब्रह्मकैवर्त्तं १८०००
२७१. स्कान्दं ८१०००
२७२. मार्कण्डेयं ९०००
२७३. आग्नेयं १६०००
२७४. ब्रह्माण्डं १००००
२७५. पाद्मं ५५०००

आहृत्य १८ ॥ शैवं स्कान्दं लैंगं कूर्म्मं वामनं वाराहं भविष्यत् मात्स्यं मार्कण्डेयं ब्रह्माण्डं १० शिवपुराणं । नारदीयं भागवतं वैष्णवं गारुडं ४ विष्णुपुराणं । ब्राह्मं पाद्मं २ ब्रह्मपुराणं । ब्रह्मकैवर्तं सूर्यपुराणं अग्नेयं अग्निपुराणं आहृ महापुराणं १८ । एतेषु केषांचिद्व्याख्यानानि ॥

उपपुराणानि

२७६. औशनसं
२७७. कापिलं
२७८. काळिकं
२७९. सनत्कुमारं
२८०. शांभवं—सांबं
२८१. शिवधर्म्मं
२८२. सौरं
२८३. दूर्वाससं
२८४. नन्दिकेश्वरं
२८५. नारसिंह्मं
२८६. नारदीयं
२८७. पाराशरं
२८८. भागवतं
२८९. आंगिरसं
२९०. मारीचिकं
२९१. मानवं
२९२. वारुणं
२९३. वासिष्ठलैंगं

आहृ(त्य) उपपुराणं १८

२९४. देवीपुराणं
२९५. सौरसंहिता
२९६. विष्णुधर्म्मोत्तरं
२९७. वायुपुराणं
२९८. सूतसंहिता
२९९. काळिकापुराणं
३००. भविष्योत्तरपुराणं
३०१. रेणुकापुराणं
३०२. मार्कण्डेयपुराणं
३०३. कूर्म्मपुराणं
३०४. गरुडपुराणं
३०५. ब्रह्मोत्तरखण्डं
३०६. योगवासिष्ठं
३०७. शुकसंहिता
३०८. वसिष्ठसंहिता
३०९. ललितोपाख्यानं
३१०. मृगेन्द्रसंहिता
३११. दक्षिणामूर्त्तिसंहिता
३१२. वराहपुराणं
३१३. मल्लारिमाहात्म्यं
३१४. मन्त्रन्यासपूजापुरश्चरणहोमरहस्यस्तोत्राख्यसप्तखण्डात्मकं ।

इतिहासानि

३१५. महाभारतं

३१६. जैमिनिभारतं
३१७. शिवरहस्यं

ஆக இதிஹாஸம் ३ ॥

३१८. वामनपुराणं
३१९. पद्मपुराणं
३२०. ब्रह्माण्डपुराणं
३२१. दत्तात्रेयसंहिता

स्मृतयः

३२२. वासिष्ठं
३२३. हारीतं
३२४. वैय्यासं
३२५. मानवं
३२६. भारद्वाजं
३२७. पाराशरं
३२८. काश्यपं
३२९. दाक्षं
३३०. याज्ञवल्क्यं
३३१. आत्रेयं
३३२. कात्यायनं
३३३. याम्यं
३३४. वैष्णवं
३३५. गौतमं
३३६. बार्हस्पत्यं
३३७. सांवर्त्तं
३३८. शांखं
३३९. औशनसं

ஆக மூலஸ்ம்ருதி १८ ।

व्याख्यानानि

३४०. विज्ञानेश्वरयोगिप्रणीतमिताक्षरी
विज्ञानेश्वरीयं
३४१. देवनभट्टकृतस्मृतिचन्द्रिका
३४२. प्रतापरुद्रकृतसरस्वतीविलासं
३४३. नीलकण्ठकृतव्यवहारमयूखं
४४४. माधवाचार्यकृतमाधवीयं स्मृति-
चन्द्रिका
३४५. वरदराजकृतवरदराजीयं
३४६. तुलादानादिपद्धतिः
३४७. गयाश्राद्धादिपद्धतिः
३४८. षष्टिभङ्गव्याख्यानं
३४९. वैद्यानाथदीक्षितकृतस्मृतिमुक्ताफलं
वैद्यनाथदीक्षितीयं
३५०. कमलाकरभट्टकृतनिर्णयसिंधुः
३५१. कुल्लूकभट्टकृतमनुवर्त्तमुक्तावलि
कुल्लूकभट्टीयं
३५२. नन्दपण्डितकृतदत्तकमीमांसा
३५३. देवनाथभट्टकृतदत्तकचन्द्रिका
३५४. श्रीरामपण्डितकृतदत्तकमीमांसा
३५५. माधवाचार्यकृतदत्तकमीमांसा
३५६. जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागं
३५७. जगन्नाथपञ्चाननभट्टीयं
३५८. स्मृत्यर्णवं विवादभङ्गार्णवं
३५९. विवादचिन्तामणि
३६०. कामन्दककृतकामन्दकीयं
३६१. स्मृतिरत्नदीपं
३६२. स्मृतिभास्करं
३६३. स्मृतिकल्पतरुः
३६४. नयविवेकदीपिका

३६५. बहुविवाहवादं

३६६. वीरमित्रोदयं

३६७. कामन्दकीनीतिसारं

३६८. क्षेत्रतत्त्वदीपिका

३६९. मृच्छकटिका सटीका

३७०. चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणिः हेमाद्रिकृत-दानखण्डं

३७१. अत्रि । विष्णु । हारीत । याज्ञ-वल्क्य । उशना । अंगिर । यम । आपस्तंब । संवर्त । कात्यायन । बृहस्पति । पराशर । व्यास । शंखलिखित । दक्ष । गौतम । शातातप । वसिष्ठ । प्रणीत-संहिताः ।

३७२. नीतिमाला

३७३. बृहन्नारदीयं

३७४. बृहत्पाराशरं

तर्कशास्त्रं

३७५. कणादसूत्रं

३७६. चन्द्रिका

३७७. मणिः

३७८. शिरोमणिः ।

३७९. मथुरानाथीयं ।

३८०. जगदीशीयं ।

३८१. तर्कसंग्रहं । इराजीअनुवादसहितं अन्नंभट्टीयं

३८२. कारिकावली ।

३८३. मुक्तावली ।

३८४. दिनकरभट्टीयं ।

३८५. प्रभा ।

३८६. मञ्जूषा ।

३८७. तरंगिणी ।

३८८. शितिकण्ठीयं ।

३८९. गदाधरीयं ।

३९०. कृष्णभट्टीयं ।

३९१. शंकरीयं ।

३९२. चान्द्रनारायणीयं ।

३९३. रघुनाथीयं न्यायरत्नं ।

३९४. त्रियंबकीयं ।

३९५. अनुगमभट्टकृतं सर्वानुगमं न्यायदर्पणं ।

३९६. मणिसारं ।

३९७. मणिदर्पणं ।

३९८. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहं

३९९. ईश्वरनिरूपणं

४००. ईश्वरानुमानचिन्तामणिः गंगेशोपाध्यायकृतं

तर्कसंग्रहस्य व्याख्यानानि

४०१. न्यायबोधिनी

४०२. नीलकण्ठप्रकाशिका

४०३. तर्कसंग्रहदीपिका

४०४. तर्कसंग्रहटिप्पणी

४०५. अनुमानचिंतामणिः

४०६. अनुमानदीधितिः सटीका

४०७. उपमानचिन्तामणिः

४०८. न्यायदर्शनं वात्स्यायनमुनिकृत-भाष्यसहितं विश्वनाथकृतवृत्ति-सहितं

४०९. मल्लिकामारुतं (उद्दण्डकविः)
४१०. वैशेषिकदर्शनं

ज्योतिश्शास्त्रं

४११. कालप्रकाशिका
४१२. कालप्रदीपिका
४१३. कालविधानं
४१४. कालादर्शं
४१५. कालामृतं
४१६. लंपाकं
४१७. ज्ञानप्रदीपिका
४१८. प्रश्नकृष्णीयं
४१९. फलकृष्णीयं
४२०. जातकचन्द्रिका
४२१. जातकरत्नाकरं
४२२. जातकपारिजातं
४२३. बृहज्जातकं
४२४. उडुजातकं
४२५. शिवालिखितं
४२६. चमत्कारचिन्तामणिः
४२७. भट्टोत्पलं
४२८. सुबोधिनी
४२९. पराशरहोरा
४३०. भार्गवसूत्रं
४३१. जैमिनिसूत्रं
४३२. जैमिनिसूत्रविवरणं
४३३. वराहमिहिरसंहिता
४३४. नरपतिविजयं
४३५. सूर्यसिद्धान्तं
४३६. आर्यभटीयं
४३७. लीलावती
४३८. बीजगणितं
४३९. गणिताध्यायं
४४०. गोळाध्यायं
४४१. सूर्यसिद्धान्तं

वैद्यशास्त्रं

४४२. रसरत्नाकरं
४४३. रसकौमुदी
४४४. चक्रदत्तं
४४५. सुश्रुतं
४४६. शार्ङ्गधरं
४४७. कारण्डव्यूहं
४४८. चरकसंहिता
४४९. भावप्रकाशं
४५०. मदनपालनिघण्टु
४५१. रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणिः

मन्त्रशास्त्रं

४५२. गणपतिविषयं
४५३. सुब्रह्मण्यविषयं
४५४. कार्त्तवीर्यार्जुनविषयं
४५५. दत्तात्रेयविषयं
४५६. शास्ताविषयं
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७१०. मिश्रशंकरीयं
७११. न्यायकारिकाव्याख्या
७१२. योगभाष्यहठरत्नावली
७१३. हठयोगः व्यासः
७१४. अध्यात्मयोगं
७१५. तत्वप्रकाशिका भोजराजः
७१६. नामकौमुदी
७१७. मुक्तिस्थितिमाला
७१८. शिवदत्तप्रकाशमूलं
७१९. शिवतत्वप्रकाशव्याख्या
७२०. भक्तिरसांशं
७२१. भक्तिरत्नावली
७२२. देवीकालोत्तरं
७२३. योगाभ्यासं
७२४. उपदेशसारं
७२५. श्रुतिसारं
७२६. अनुभूतिरत्नमाला
७२७. वेदान्तसारं
७२८. वाक्यसुधा
७२९. अद्वैतामृतं
७३०. हरिहरयोगं
७३१. राजयोगं
७३२. ज्ञानसन्यासपद्धतिः
७३३. ज्ञानबोधस्तोत्रं शुकः
७३४. अलातशान्तिः
७३५. वेदान्तमहावाक्यविवरणं

७३६. आत्मविद्याविलासं सदाशिवब्रह्मं
७३७. हृदयस्थगुह्यं
७३८. आत्मतत्वं
७३९. वेदान्तनक्षत्रविद्यावलिः अप्पय्यदी (क्षितः)
७४०. सिद्धान्तचन्द्रिका
७४१. गुरुशिष्यसंवादः
७४२. गुरुशिष्यकृतसप्तप्रकरणं
७४३. ज्ञानप्रबोधमञ्जरी
७४४. भगवद्गीता
७४५. अष्टावक्रगीता
७४६. तस्याः व्याख्या
७४७. कपिलगीता
७४८. ईश्वरगीता, व्यासः
७४९. शिवगीता
७५०. गुरुगीता
७५१. अवधूतगीता
७५२. गोपीगीता
७५३. पाण्डवगीता
७५४. अनुगीता
७५५. अनुगीताटीका
७५६. गीतामाहात्म्यं
७५७. ब्रह्मगीता
७५८. सिद्धान्तगीता
७५९. अगस्त्यगीता
७६०. सूतगीता
७६१. श्रुतिगीता
७६२. गीतासारं
७६३. जीवन्मुक्तिगीता
७६४. भृगुगीता
७६५. कर्म्मगीता
७६६. उत्तरगीता
७६७. उपदेशसहस्री
७६८. शिवतत्वप्रकाशिका
७६९. अपरोक्षानुभवं
७७०. अपरोक्षानुभूतिः
७७१. आत्मबोधज्ञानार्णवं
७७२. उत्तरलक्षणं
७७३. बालबोधिनी
७७४. प्राक्प्रवृत्तिव्याख्यानं
७७५. आत्मतत्वनिरूपणं
७७६. भक्तिचन्द्रिकोल्लासं
७७७. ज्ञानतिलकं
७७८. ज्ञानषट्कं
७७९. आत्मानुभवं
७८०. विद्यादशकं
७८१. मिश्रपञ्चीकरणं
७८२. महावाक्यविवरणं
७८३. पञ्चीकरणभूतिसंग्रहं
७८४. वेदान्तसारपञ्चीकरणं
७८५. पञ्चीकरणटीका
७८६. षड्दर्शनीसिद्धान्तसंग्रहं
७८७. आत्मानात्मचूडामणिः
७८८. कल्पतरुव्याख्यानं आभोगं
७८९. संक्षेपशारिका
७९०. तस्याः व्याख्यानं
७९१. शारीरकन्यायसंग्रहं
७९२. पञ्चपादिकाविवरणतत्वदीपिका
७९३. तत्वप्रदीपिका
७९४. तत्वदीपविवरणं

७९५. अद्वैततत्वदीपिका
७९६. अद्वैततत्वदीपनं
७९७. उपदेशसहस्रीव्याख्या
७९८. भावप्रकाशिका
७९९. आत्मप्रकरणं सव्याख्यानं
८००. रसाभिव्यञ्जकं
८०१. पञ्चीकरणवार्तिकाभरणं
८०२. प्रणवस्तवराजं
८०३. प्रणवानुस्मृतिः
८०४. प्रणवसहस्रनामं
८०५. प्रणवगीता
८०६. प्रणवविषयं
८०७. प्रणवार्थदीपिका
८०८. विवरणतत्वदीपिका
८०९. मधुविद्या
८१०. संवर्गविद्या
८११. अद्वैतनिर्णयं
८१२. वेदान्तशिखामणिः
८१३. न्यायवृत्तिः
८१४. न्यायमालिका
८१५. उपक्रमोपसंहरं
८१६. {न्यायनिर्देशमकरन्दं / न्यायमकरन्दं}
८१७. न्यायमकरन्दविवेचनं
८१८. न्यायदीपावलिः
८१९. प्रमाणमाला
८२०. तत्वावबोधं
८२१. तत्वप्रदीपिका
८२२. तस्याः टीका
८२३. आत्मबोधं आर्यावृत्तं
८२४. भवस्वामिभाष्यं
८२५. अद्वैतचिन्तामणिः
८२६. विधिनिर्णयं
८२७. सर्वसमयसर्वस्वं

मध्वमतसिद्धान्तग्रन्थाः

८२८. आनन्दतीर्थकृतभगवद्गीता-भाष्यं
८२९. ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यमानन्दतीर्थीयं
८३०. तद्व्याख्या तत्वप्रकाशिका
८३१. अनुभाष्यं
८३२. तद्व्याख्या सुधा
८३३. पूर्णप्रज्ञदर्शनं मद्धभाष्यसहितं

पाञ्चरात्रे वैष्णवतन्त्रे महोपनिषदि अष्टोत्तरशतसंहितास्सन्ति । ताः क्रमशो लिख्यन्ते ।

८३४. पाद्मसंहिता
८३५. मायाभैरवं
८३६. नळकूबरं
८३७. विष्णुतिलकं
८३८. परमं
८३९. नारदीयं
८४०. नन्दीयं
८४१. वासिष्ठं
८४२. पुष्करं
८४३. सनत्कुमारं
८४४. सनककं
८४५. सत्यं
८४६. विश्वं

८४७. सनन्दं
८४८. शेषसंहिता
८४९. श्रीप्रश्नं
८५०. पुरुषोत्तमं
८५१. माहेन्द्रं
८५२. पञ्चप्रश्नं
८५३. वासिष्ठं
८५४. सात्वतं
८५५. श्रीकरं
८५६. संवर्त्तं
८५७. विष्णुसद्भावं
८५८. विष्णुसिद्धान्तं
८५९. विष्णुवैभवं
८६०. सौरं
८६१. सौम्यं
८६२. ऐश्वरं
८६३. अनन्ताख्यं
८६४. भागवतं
८६५. जयाख्यं
८६६. पुष्टितन्त्रं
८६७. शौनकं
८६८. मारीचं
८६९. दक्षसंहिता
८७०. उपेन्द्रं
८७१. योगहृदयं
८७२. हारीतं
८७३. आत्रेयं
८७४. पारमेश्वरं
८७५. ऐन्द्रं
८७६. विष्वक्सेनं
८७७. औशनसं
८७८. वैहायसं
८७९. विहगेन्द्रं
८८०. भार्गवं
८८१. परमपुरुषं
८८२. याज्ञवल्क्यं
८८३. गौतमीयं
८८४. पौलस्त्यं
८८५. शाकटायनं
८८६. ज्ञानार्णवं
८८७. जामदग्न्यं
८८८. याम्यं
८८९. नारायणं
८९०. पाराशर्यं
८९१. जाबालं
७९२. कापिलं
८९३. वामनं
८९४. जयोत्तरं
८९५. बार्हस्पत्यं
८९६. जैमिनिसात्वतं
८९७. कात्यायनं
८९८. वाल्मीकं
८९९. औपकायनं
९००. हिरण्यगर्भं
९०१. आगस्त्यं
९०२. काण्व्यं
९०३. बोधायनं
९०४. भारद्वाजं
९०५. नारसिंह्मं
९०६. पूर्वगार्ग्यं

९०७. उत्तरगार्ग्यं
९०८. शातातपं
९०९. आंगिरसं
९१०. काश्यपं
९११. पैंगलं
९१२. त्रैलोक्यविजयं
९१३. योगं
९१४. नारदीयं
९१५. वारुणं
९१६. कृष्णं
९१७. अंबरं
९१८. आग्नेयं
९१९. संग्रहमार्कण्डेय
९२०. महासनत्कुमारं
९२१. व्यासं
९२२. विष्णुसंहिता
९२३. महामार्कण्डेयं
९२४. पार्षदं
९२५. ब्राह्मं
९२६. महानारदीयं
९२७. शुक्ररुद्रीयं
९२८. उमामहेश्वरं
९२९. दत्तात्रेयं
९३०. मिहिराह्वयं
९३१. संकर्षणं
९३२. प्रद्युम्नं
९३३. कल्की
९३४. राघवं
९३५. प्राचेतसं
९३६. लक्ष्मीतिलकं

देशिककृतवेदान्तविषयग्रन्धाः

९३७. श्रीभाष्यव्याख्या तत्वटीका ग्रन्धं ६००००
९३८. अधिकरणसारावलि स्रग्धराश्लोकं ५००
९३९. तत्वमुक्ताकलापं स्रग्धराश्लोकं ७००
९४०. शतदूषणीवादग्रन्धं ग्रन्धं ४००००
९४१. सेश्वरमीमांसापादुका ग्रन्धं १२०००
९४२. सेश्वरमीमांसा ग्रन्धं १०००
९४३. न्यायसिद्धाञ्जनं ग्रन्धं ६०००
९४४. न्यायतिलकं ग्रन्धं २०००
९४५. न्यायपरिशुद्धिग्रन्धं ५०००
९४६. स्तोत्रभाष्यं ग्रन्धं ४०००
९४७. गद्यभाष्यं ग्रन्धं ५०००
९४८. श्रीतत्वसिद्धाञ्जनं ग्रन्धं ३०००
९४९. गीताभाष्यटीका तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका ग्रन्धं १२०००

शैवमूलागमग्रन्धाः अष्टाविंशतिः २८

९५०. कामिकागमं ग्रन्धं परार्द्धं । भेदाः त्रयः ३
९५१. योगजागमं ग्रन्धं द्विलक्षं । भेदाः पञ्च ५
९५२. चिन्त्यागमं ग्रन्धं लक्षं । भेदाष्षट ६
९५३. कारणागमं ग्रन्धं चतुष्कोटिः । भेदास्सप्त ७

९५४. अजितागमं ग्रन्थं अयुतं १०००० । भेदाश्चत्वारः ४

९५५. दीप्तागमं ग्रन्थं नियुतं २०००० । भेदाः नव ९

९५६. सूक्ष्मागमं ग्रन्थं पद्मं १० कोटिः । भेदः एकः १

९५७. सहस्रागमं ग्रन्थं शंखं १० लक्षं कोटिः । भेदा दश १०

९५८. अंशुमानागमं ग्रन्थं पञ्चलक्षं । भेदा द्वादश १२

९५९. सुप्रभेदागमं ग्रन्थं त्रिकोटिः । भेदः एकः १

९६०. विजयागमं ग्रन्थं त्रिकोटिः । भेदा अष्टौ ८

९६१. निश्वासागमं ग्रन्थं एककोटिः । भेदा अष्टौ ८

९६२. स्वायंभुवागमं ग्रन्थं सार्द्धैककोटिः । भेदौ द्वौ २

९६३. आग्नेयागमं ग्रन्थं त्र्ययुतं ३०००० । भेदौ द्वौ २

९६४. वीरागमं ग्रन्थं दशलक्षं । भेदाश्चतुर्दश १४

९६५. रौरवागमं ग्रन्थमष्टकोटिः । भेदाष्षट् ६

९६६. मकुटागमं ग्रन्थं लक्षं । भेदौ द्वौ २

९६७. विमलागमं ग्रन्थं त्रिलक्षं । भेदाष्षोडश १६

९६८. चन्द्रज्ञानागमं ग्रन्थं त्रिकोटिः । भेदाश्चतुर्दश १४

९६९. बिंबागमं ग्रन्थं महापद्मं लक्षं कोटिः भेदाः पञ्चदश १५ ।

९७०. प्रोद्गीतागमं ग्रन्थं त्रिलक्षं भेदाष्षोडश १६

९७१. ललितागमं ग्रन्थमष्टसहस्रं । भेदास्त्रयः ३

९७२. सिद्धागमं ग्रन्थं सार्द्धैककोटिः । भेदाश्चत्वारः ४

९७३. सन्तानागमं ग्रन्थं षट्सहस्रं । भेदास्सप्त ७

९७४. शर्वोक्तागमं ग्रन्थं द्विलक्षं । भेदाः पञ्च ५

९७५. पारमेश्वरागमं ग्रन्थं द्वादशलक्षं । भेदाष्षट् ६

९७६. किरणागमं ग्रन्थं पञ्चलक्षं भेदा नव ९

९७७. वातुलागमं ग्रन्थं लक्षं । भेदा द्वादश १२

ஆக சைவமூலாகமங்கள் 28க்கு க்ரந்தம் பரார்த்துக்கு மேல் 11 லக்ஷம் கோடியே 30கோடியே 51 லக்ஷத்தி 54000.

आद्यं परार्द्धं ह्यपरं द्विलक्षं लक्षं परं कारणमब्धिकोटि ।
अन्योयुतं स्यान्नियुतन्तु दीप्तं सूक्ष्मन्तु पद्मं हि सहस्रशंखं ॥
स्यात् पञ्चलक्षं रवितन्त्रमुक्तं भेदस्त्रिकोटिर्विजयस्त्रिकोटिः ।

श्वासस्तु कोटिस्स्वयमुद्भवाख्यस्सार्द्धत्रिकोटिस्त्र्ययुतो नलस्स्यात् ॥
लक्षाणि वीरे दश रौरवन्तु कोटयष्टकं स्यान्मकुटस्स लक्षः ।
श्लोकैस्त्रिलक्षो विमलागमस्स्यात् स्याच्चन्द्रबोधश्च तथा त्रिकोटिः ॥
बिंबं महाब्जं त्वथ गीततन्त्रं लक्षत्रयं त्वष्टसहस्रमन्यत् ।
सार्द्धैककोटीति च सिद्धतन्त्रं सन्तानतन्त्रं भुवि षट्सहस्रं ॥
शार्वं द्विलक्षं परमोर्कलक्षं स्यात् पञ्चकोटिः कि णागमस्स्यात् ।
लक्षन्तथा वातुळमागमानां स्यात् श्लोकसंख्या मकुटागमोक्ता: ॥
ऊर्द्ध्वं परार्द्धाद्दश लक्षकोटिर्लक्षैककोट्यस्त्रयपङ्तिकोटिः ।
वर्णोक्तलक्षं वशिना सहस्रं ह्यागमानामिति पद्यसंख्याः ॥
स्यात् त्रिःपञ्च षडेव तापसचतूरत्नैकपङ्त्युष्णभा-
श्चैकश्चाष्ट गजा द्विदक्स्वरयुगं षट् दक् तटिन्यो मनुः ।
मासार्द्धेन्दुकलात्रिवेदमुनयो भूताब्धिरन्ध्रारुणा-
स्संभूय द्विशतं ससप्तकमसौ संख्योपतन्त्रोद्भवा ॥

उपागमं २०७ ।

कामिकाद्यागमपरिशिष्टोपागमास्सप्ताधिकद्विशतं ।

संबन्द्धोस्ति च षड्विधस्स तु परश्शंभ्वीशयोगो महा-
नीशोमापतिगोन्तराळ इति च श्रीकण्ठदेवेन्द्रयोः ।
दिव्यो देवपतेर्मुनिष्वथ पुनस्तेषामृषीणान्नृणा-
न्दिव्यादिव्य इतीरितोथ नरयोर्दिव्येतरस्तान्त्रिकः ॥

सदाशिवानन्तेश्वरयोः परमस्संबन्धः । ईश्वरश्रीकण्ठयोर्महासंबन्धः । श्रीकण्ठदेवेन्द्रयोरन्तराळसंबन्धः । देवेन्द्रऋषीणां दिव्यसंबन्धः । ऋषीणाम्मनुष्याणान्दिव्यादिव्यसंबन्धः । मनुष्याणाम्मनुष्याणामदिव्यसंबन्धः । उग्रज्योतिराचार्यः । सद्योज्योतिराचार्यः । रामकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । विद्याकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । नारायणकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । भूतिकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । श्रीकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । नीलकण्ठशिवाचार्यः । सोमशंभुशिवाचार्यः । ब्रह्मशंभुशिवाचार्यः । ज्ञानशंभुशिवाचार्यः । ईशानशिवाचार्यः । हृदयशिवाचार्यः । वैराग्यशिवाचार्यः । त्रिलोचनशिवाचार्यः । वरुणशिवाचार्यः । ईश्वरशिवाचार्यः अघोरशिवाचार्यः । आहत्य पूर्वाचार्या अष्टादश १८ । व्योमशिवाचार्यः । व्यापकशिवाचार्यः । सर्वेशपण्डितशिवाचार्यः । उत्तुंगशिवाचार्यः । सर्वात्मशिवाचार्यः । परमानन्दयोगीन्द्रशिवाचार्यः । अप्पय्यदीक्षितशिवाचार्यः ।

९७८. मतंगंव्याख्याता रामकण्ठः ।
९७९. किरणंव्याख्याता विद्याकण्ठः ।
९८०. वातुळंव्याख्याता ज्ञानशिवाचार्यः
९८१. उत्तुंगशिवाचार्यकृतं पूजास्तबकं
९८२. व्याख्याता ज्ञानशिवाचार्यः
९८३. देविकालोत्तरं
९८४. स्कन्दकालोत्तरं
९८५. सर्वज्ञानोत्तरं
९८६. परमानन्दयोगीन्द्रकृतं शैवभूषणं ।
९८७. सदाशिवगुरुकृतं दशकार्यं
९८८. सूर्यभट्टारककृतं शैवार्त्थनिर्णयं
९८९. उमापतिशिवाचार्यकृतं पौष्करं तद्व्याख्यानञ्च । ज्ञानप्रकाशशिवाचार्यश्च तद्व्याख्याता ।
९९०. मृगेन्द्रव्याख्याता नारायणकण्ठशिवाचार्यः
९९१. सिद्धान्तसारावली मूलकर्ता व्याख्याता च तस्यास्त्रिलोचनशिवाचार्यः
९९२. अघोरशिवाचार्यकृतं सिद्धान्तसमुच्चयं
९९३. सर्वात्मशंभुशिवाचार्यकृता सिद्धान्तप्रकाशिका
९९४. सूर्यभट्टारककृता सिद्धान्तपरिभाषा
९९५. ज्ञानशिवाचार्यकृतस्सिद्धान्तशिखामणिः
९९६. नीतिकण्ठाचार्यकृतं सिद्धान्तरहस्यसारं
९९७. भोजदेवकृतमष्टप्रकरणं व्याख्याता रामकण्ठः
९९८. अघोरशिवाचार्यकृतं रत्नत्रयं व्याख्याता श्रीकण्ठः
९९९. सत्यज्योतिशिवाचार्यकृता तत्वचन्द्रिका । तत्वप्रकाशश्च ।
१०००. सद्योजातशिवाचार्यकृतं तत्वनिर्णयं
१००१. सत्ज्योतिशिवाचार्यकृता भोगकारिका
१००२. उग्रज्योतिशिवाचार्यकृता मोक्षकारिका
१००३. रामकण्ठशिवाचार्यकृता नादकारिका
१००४. देवज्ञानमुनिकृतं दीक्षादर्शं
१००५. अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृतस्सिद्धान्तसंग्रहस्सिद्धान्तचन्द्रिका च ।
१००६. ज्ञानप्रकाशशिवाचार्यकृतं शिवयोगरत्नं
१००७. सकलागमाचार्यकृतं त्रिपदार्त्थविवेकं
१००८. प्रासादषट्श्लोकी व्याख्याता सर्वज्ञपण्डितः
१००९. प्रासादपरमाक्षरनिर्णयं
१०१०. सोमशंभुकृता प्रासादचन्द्रिका
१०११. प्रासाददीपिका
१०१२. सोमनाथकृता प्रासादचूर्णिका
१०१३. अघोरशिवाचार्यकृता संग्रहसाररत्नावली
१०१४. विनायकभट्टकृतः कर्षणादिः
१०१५. अघोरशिवाचार्यकृता क्रियाक्रमद्योतिका
१०१६. परमोक्षनिरासकारिका १

१०१७. जगदुत्पत्तिप्रकरणं २
१०१८. अहंकारतत्वप्रकरणं ३
१०१९. आकाशतत्वप्रकरणं ४
१०२०. वायुतत्वप्रकरणं ५
१०२१ अग्नितत्वप्रकरणं ६
१०२२. अप्तत्वप्रकरणं ७
१०२३. पृथिवीतत्वप्रकरणं ८
एतद्ग्रन्थाष्टकस्य कर्त्ता सद्यो-
जातशिवाचार्यः
१०२४. शतरत्नसंग्रहं
१०२५. सिद्धान्तदीपिका
१०२६. सिद्धान्तरहस्यसारं
१०२७. अष्टांगयोगविवरणं
१०२८. कलाक्रमपद्यं

रहस्यतन्त्रादिमूलकस्वानुभवग्रन्धाः

१०२९. अर्चनात्रंशिका
१०३०. अजडप्रमातृसिद्धिः
१०३१. अर्जुनतन्त्रं
१०३२. अन्तर्वैरिवस्यारहस्यं
१०३३. अर्थरत्नावली
१०३४. अद्वयोल्लासं
१०३५. अद्वैतमकरन्दं
१०३६. अधिकरणरत्नमाला
१०३७. अनुभवस्तोत्रं
१०३८. अनुत्तरसंविदद्वैतसिद्धान्तं
१०३९. अनेकार्थध्वनिमञ्जरी
१०४०. अपोहवादं
१०४१. अंबास्तवं
१०४२. अरुणेशतन्त्रं
१०४३. अक्षरस्तोत्रं
१०४४. आकाशभैरवकल्पं
१०४५. आत्मबोधं
१०४६. आत्मविद्याविलासं
१०४७. आत्मस्फूर्त्तिविलासं
१०४८. आत्मानात्मविवेकं
१०४९. आदियामळतन्त्रं
१०५०. आनन्दताण्डवविलासस्तवं
१०५१. आनन्दलहरीस्तोत्रं
१०५२. आर्याद्विशती
१०५३. आर्यापञ्चदशीस्तोत्रं
१०५४. ईश्वरगीता
१०५५. ईश्वरसिद्धिः
१०५६. ईश्वरसिद्धिविमर्शिनी
१०५७. उड्डामरं
१०५८. उत्तरतन्त्रं
१०५९. उत्तरातन्त्रं
१०६०. उत्तराम्नायतन्त्रं
१०६१. उदयाकरपद्धतिः
१०६२. उपदेशशिखामणिः
१०६३. उपदेशसहस्रिका
१०६४. उपायद्विशती
१०६५. उपासनासारसंग्रहं
१०६६. ऋजुविमर्शिनी
१०६७. ऋक्षाद्यं
१०६८. एकवीराकल्पं
१०६९. एकवीरातन्त्रं
१०७०. एकाक्षरीकल्पं
१०७१. ओड्डामरेश्वरतन्त्रं
१०७२. कलापदं

१०७३. कलावादतन्त्रं
१०७४. कलासारतन्त्रं
१०७५. कंकाळभैरवतन्त्रं
१०७६. कपालभैरवतन्त्रं
१०७७. कल्पसूत्रं
१०७८. कल्याणवृष्टिस्तवं
१०७९. कक्ष्यास्तोत्रं
१०८०. कामिकतन्त्रं
१०८१. कामकलाविलासं
१०८२. कामकलासूत्रं
१०८३. कापिलसूत्रं
१०८४. कालसारं
१०८५. कालिकाखण्डं
१०८६. कालिकामतं
१०८७. काळीकल्पं
१०८८. काळीतन्त्रं
१०८९. किरणावलि:
१०९०. कुब्जिकामततन्त्रं
१०९१. कुमारकौशलं
१०९२. कुमारतन्त्रं
१०९३. कुण्डलप्रकाशं
१०९४. कुमारीकल्पं
१०९५. कुमारीतन्त्रं
१०९६. कुरूपिकामतं
१०९७. कुळकमलं
१०९८. कुळचिन्तामणितन्त्रं
१०९९. कुळचूडामणि:
११००. कुळपूजामणि:
११०१. कुळप्रकाशं
११०२. कुळमूलावतारं
११०३. कुळसद्भावं
११०४. कुळसर्वस्वं
११०५. कुळसारतन्त्रं
११०६. कुळसंभारं
११०७. कुळार्णवं
११०८. कुळोड्डीशतन्त्रं
११०९. कूर्म्मयामळतन्त्रं
१११०. क्रमकेळी
११११. क्रमवासना
१११२. क्रमसद्भावं
१११३. क्रमसिद्धिः
१११४. क्रमसंहिता
१११५. क्रमसूत्रं
१११६. क्रमोदयं
१११७. कोमळवल्लीस्तवं
१११८. कौमारीतन्त्रं
१११९. कौळगीता
११२०. कौतूहलचिन्तामणिः
११२१. गणेशस्तवं
११२२. गन्धर्वतन्त्रं
११२३. गान्धर्वाख्यम्
११२४. गारुडं
११२५. गीतानिष्यन्दं
११२६. गीतासारं
११२७. गुप्तवती १
११२८. गुप्तवती २
११२९. गुप्तार्णवं
११३०. गुरुस्तोत्रं
११३१. गुह्यतन्त्रं
११३२. गोरक्षशतकं

११३३. गौतमीयं
११३४. गौरीदशकं
११३५. चर्चास्तवं
११३६. चतुर्वेदशिखा
११३७. चतुश्शती
११३८. चन्द्रज्ञानतन्त्रं
११३९. चरणस्तोत्रं
११४०. चाणक्यतन्त्रं
११४१. चामुण्डातन्त्रं
११४२. चिन्तामणिस्तोत्रं
११४३. चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका
११४४. चिदम्बररहस्यं
११४५. चिद्वल्ली
११४६. चिद्विलासं
११४७. चिदानन्दपद्धतिः
११४८. चिदानन्दवासना
११४९. जयपद्धतिः
११५०. जयार्णवं
११५१. जालशंबरं
११५२. जालोत्तरं
११५३. ज्ञानवासिष्ठं
११५४. ज्ञानार्णवं
११५५. ज्ञानकौमुदी
११५६. ज्ञानेन्दुकौमुदी
११५७. डामरं
११५८. तन्त्रचिन्तामणिः
११५९. तन्त्रचूडामणिः
११६०. तन्त्रभेदतन्त्रं
११६१. तन्त्रराजं
११६२. तन्त्रवटधानिका
११६३. तन्त्रवैशेषिकं
११६४. तन्त्रसद्भावं
११६५. तन्त्रालोकं
११६६. तन्त्रार्णवतरंगिणी
११६७. तन्त्रार्णवं
११६८. तन्त्रोत्तमं
११६९. तत्वचिन्तामणिः
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१४६५. श्रीक्रमोदयं
१४६६. श्रीक्रमसिद्धिः
१४६७. श्रीकण्ठसंहिता
१४६८. श्रीकण्ठभाष्यं
१४६९. श्रीत्रिपुरासारं
१४७०. श्रीदर्शं
१४७१. श्रीगुरुपूर्वशास्त्रं
१४७२. श्रीपादुकोदयं
१४७३. श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदयं
१४७४. श्रीस्पन्दं
१४७५. श्रीस्तोत्रावली
१४७६. श्रीमहानयपद्धतिः
१४७७. श्रीस्वच्छन्दं
१४७८. श्रीसिद्धान्तमतं
१४७९. श्रुतिसूक्तिमाला
१४८०. षट्त्रिंशन्नवमालिकास्तवं
१४८१. षोढोत्तरयामळं
१४८२. सकलजननीस्तवं
१४८३. [illegible]चरित्ररक्षा

१४८४. सर्ववीरमतं
१४८५. सप्तशती
१४८६. समाधिपञ्चदशी
१४८७. सर्वज्ञानोत्तरतन्त्रं
१४८८. संविदानन्दभैरवीयं
१४८९. संवित्स्तोत्रं
१४९०. संवित्प्रकाशं
१४९१ संविदुल्लासं
१४९२. संवित्शतकं
१४९३. समयाचारं
१४९४. साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपीठिका
१४९५. सारशास्त्रं
१४९६. सारसर्वस्वतन्त्रं
१४९७. सांख्यायनतन्त्रं
१४९८. सांबपञ्चशती
१४९९. सिद्धभैरवतन्त्रं
१५००. सिद्धांबातन्त्रं
१५०१. सिद्धयोगेश्वरीतन्त्रं
१५०२. सिद्धसिद्धान्तपद्धतिः २
१५०३. सिद्धसारस्वततन्त्रं
१५०४. सिद्धेश्वरतन्त्रं
१५०५. स्पन्दसन्दोहं
१५०६. सुप्रभेदः
१५०७. सुभगोदयं
१५०८. सुभगोदयव्याख्या चन्द्रकला
१५०९. सुभगोदयवासना
१५१०. सुन्दरीमहोदयं ।
१५११. सूतगीता
१५१२. सूरितन्त्रं
१५१३. स्वच्छन्दं
१५१४. स्वतन्त्रं ।
१५१५. स्वच्छन्दशास्त्रं
१५१६. स्वच्छन्दसारसंग्रहं
१५१७. स्वच्छन्दसंग्रहं
१५१८. स्वच्छन्दभैरवं
१५१९. स्वरभैरवं
१५२०. स्वात्मप्रकाशिका
१५२१. सेतुबन्धं
१५२२. सुभगार्चारत्नं
१५२३. सुभगार्चापारिजातं
१५२४. सोमभुजगवल्ली
१५२५. स्तोत्रावलिः
१५२६. स्तोत्रभट्टारकीयं
१५२७. सौन्दर्यलहरीस्तोत्रं
१५२८. सौन्दर्यलहरीव्याख्या लक्ष्मीधर
१५२९. सौभाग्यरत्नाकरं
१५३०. सौभाग्यभास्करं
१५३१. सौभाग्यहृदयस्तोत्रं
१५३२. सौभाग्यसुधोदयं
१५३३. सौख्यं
१५३४. स्कन्दयामळं
१५३५. स्वरूपाह्वं
१५३६. सृष्टितत्वामृतं
१५३७. हंसपारमेश्वरं
१५३८. हंसभेदं
१५३९. हृद्भेदतन्त्रं
१५४०. हृदयसूत्रं
१५४१. क्षमास्तोत्रं
१५४२. क्षेमराजीयं
१५४३. गणपतिस्तोत्रं

१५४४. सुब्रह्मण्यस्तोत्रं
१५४५. सुब्रह्मण्यभुजंगं
१५४६. कुमारस्तुतिपञ्चकं
१५४७. नानाविधस्तुतिश्लोकाः
१५४८. श्रीराममूर्तिध्यानं
१५४९. परमेश्वरमूर्तिध्यानं
१५५०. परशिवमूर्तिध्यानं
१५५१. ललितामूर्तिध्यानं
१५५२. गौरीदशकं
१५५३. भवानीस्तोत्रं
१५५४. गंगास्तोत्रं
१५५५. सेतुस्तोत्रं
१५५६. कावेरीस्तोत्रं
१५५७. हरिहरस्तोत्रं
१५५८. हरिनामस्तोत्रं
१५५९. कृष्णस्तोत्रं
१५६०. बालमुकुन्दाष्टकं
१५६१. राघवाष्टकं
१५६२. कालभैरवाष्टकं
१५६३. विश्वनाथाष्टकं
१५६४. त्यागराजाष्टकं
१५६५. त्यागाधिराजाष्टकं
१५६६. हालास्येशाष्टकं
१५६७. हालास्यनाथाष्टकं
१५६८. शिवशंकराष्टकं
१५६९. चन्द्रशेखराष्टकं
१५७०. ताण्डवेश्वराष्टकं
१५७१. शंकरपार्वत्यष्टकं
१५७२. शंभ्वष्टकं
१५७३. कृत्तिवाससः पञ्चरत्नं
१५७४. पञ्चमुखस्तोत्रं
१५७५. ताण्डवेश्वरस्तोत्रं
१५७६. पञ्चाक्षरमालिका
१५७७. पञ्चाक्षरसंपुटं
१५७८. श्रीकण्ठप्रार्थना
१५७९. शिवप्रार्थना
१५८०. अपराधस्तोत्रं
१५८१. शिवमानसिकं
१५८२. दक्षिणामूर्तिमानसिकं
१५८३. दक्षिणामूर्तिचिन्त्यं
१५८४. रामभुजंगं
१५८५. हरिहरतारतम्यं
१५८६. सांबपरब्रह्मस्तुतिः
१५८७. शिवदशश्लोकी
१५८८. शिवषट्श्लोकी
१५८९. सांख्यसारं
१५९०. योगसारं
१५९१. आत्मविद्याविलासं
१५९२. परापूजानवकं
१५९३. कौपीनपञ्चकं
१५९४. सोपानपञ्चकं
१५९५. मयूरशतकं
१५९६. शिवकेशादिपादपरागान्तस्तुति
१५९७. श्रीकृष्णद्वादशमञ्जरी
१५९८. स्वदोषपरिहाराष्टकं
१५९९. जंबुनाथाष्टकं
१६००. आर्तिहराष्टकं
१६०१. कुळीरेशाष्टकं
१६०२. शिवभक्तलक्षणप्रार्थना
१६०३. शिवभक्तिकल्पलतिका

१६०४. तारावलीस्तोत्रं
१६०५. शिवाख्याशतकं
१६०६. शिवदयाशतकं
१६०७. श्रीमातृभूतेशशतकं
१६०८. शिवस्तुतिपद्धति:
१६०९. श्यामळादण्डकं
१६१०. श्यामळानवरत्नमालिका ।
१६११. द्वादशप्रासनवरत्नमालिका
१६१२. श्रीश्यामळांबिकास्तवं
१६१३. श्रीशारदांबाष्टकं
१६१४. मूकांबिकास्तोत्रं
१६१५. श्रीचिन्तामणिस्तोत्रं
१६१६. शिवनामादिशक्त्यष्टोत्तरशतं
१६१७. श्रीललिताष्टोत्तरशतनामानि
१६१८. इन्द्राक्षीस्तोत्रं
१६१९. त्रिपुरसुन्दरीमानसिकं
१६२०. धेनुवागीश्वरीस्तोत्रं
१६२१. श्रीपञ्चकोशविमर्शिनी
१६२२. नवाक्षरीस्तोत्रं
१६२३. आर्यापञ्चदशीस्तोत्रं
१६२४. धर्म्मांबिकास्तोत्रं
१६२५. श्रीराजराजेश्वरीस्तवं
१६२६. उपदेशशिखामणि:
१६२७. श्रीशिवमीडेस्तवरत्नं
१६२८. षट्त्रंशन्नवमल्लिकासमर्चनस्तव-
राजं
१६२९. स्वात्मस्फूर्तिविलासं
१६३०. शान्तिस्तवं
१६३१. संवित्शतकं
१६३२. विरक्तिरत्नावलि:
१६३३. अद्वैतरसमञ्जरी सटीका
१६३४. हरिस्तोत्रं
१६३५. भजगोविन्दं
१६३६. हरिमीडाख्यस्तुतिः सटीका
१६३७. हनूमद्द्वादशनामानि
१६३८. विघ्नेश्वरषोडशनामानि
१६३९. सुब्रह्मण्यत्रंशन्नामानि
१६४०. सुब्रह्मण्यकवचं
१६४१. सुब्रह्मण्यमाला
१६४२. दक्षिणामूर्तिकवचं
१६४३. शिवकवचं
१६४४. शिवानन्दलहरी सटीका
१६४५. शिवमहिम्नस्तुतिः सटीका
१६४६. शिवभुजंगं
१६४७. बोधार्या
१६४८. अनुभवरत्नमाला
१६४९. धेनुवागीश्वरीस्तोत्रं
१६५०. प्रज्ञावर्द्धनसुब्रह्मण्यस्तुति:
१६५१. गणपतिस्तोत्रं
१६५२. गणेशाष्टकं
१६५३. सूर्याष्टकं
१६५४. अच्युताष्टकं
१६५५. जगन्नाथाष्टकं
१६५६. सीतारामाष्टकं
१६५७. गोविन्दाष्टकं
१६५८. पाण्डुरंगाष्टकं
१६५९. गोवर्द्धनाष्टकं
१६६०. लिंगाष्टकं
१६६१. पशुपत्यष्टकं
१६६२. कालभैरवाष्टकं

१६६३. तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राकालभैरवाष्टकं
१६६४. वाराहीनिग्रहाष्टकं
१६६५. वाराह्यनुग्रहाष्टकं
१६६६. ताराष्टकं
१६६७. लक्ष्म्यष्टकं
१६६८. सरस्वत्यष्टकं
१६६९. सरस्वतीद्वादशनामानि
१६७०. शीतळाष्टकं।
१६७१. नर्म्मदाष्टकं
१६७२. पुष्कराष्टकं
१६७३. मणिकर्णिकाष्टकं
१६७४. गंगाष्टकं
१६७५. गंगाष्टकं
१६७६. गंगाष्टकं
१६७७. यमुनाष्टकं
१६७८. अन्नपूर्णाष्टकं

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

THE ĀRYABHAṬĪYAVYĀKHYĀ OF RAGHUNĀTHA-RĀJA—A RARE AND HITHERTO UNKNOWN WORK

BY K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M. O. L.

AMUSING views regarding the date and work of *Āryabhaṭa* were held by some of the early European writers on Indian astronomy, who did not know that there were two astronomers of this name, separated from each other by centuries. Colebrooke never having seen the work of either, believed that the older work was a fabrication and that *Āryāṣṭās'ata* (meaning 108 couplets) meant 800 couplets. As to the age of *Āryabhaṭa*, however, he hit the right mark when, from citations in later works, he assigned him to the fifth century A. D. Bentley who did not know Sanskrit and whose prejudiced and unscientific views on problems of Indian astronomy have met with the summary rejection which they fully deserve, assigned the *Āryabhaṭamahāsiddhānta*, the work of the later of the two, to A. D. 1322, denounced the work of the earlier as spurious and called *Āryabhaṭa* an impostor! It was Fitz-Edward Hall who first brought to light the fact that there were two different astronomers of the same name. He was followed by Whitney, Bhāu Dājī, Kern, Dikshit and others.[1]

[1] See Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.* (1872) II, p. 471 *et seq.*; Bentley, *A Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy* (1825), p. 128; Hall and Whitney, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 6, p. 556 *et seq.*; Bhāu Dājī, *J.R.A.S.* (New Series) 1865, p. 392 *et seq.*; Kern, Preface to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1865; S. B. Dikshit, *Bhāratīyajyotiṣas'āstra Itihās*, Poona, 1931, p. 230 *et seq.*

According to his own statement, *Āryabhaṭa I*, the better known of the two, was born in A. D. 476 :

[2] षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः ।
त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदिह (तदेह, तदेव) मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥

" When three of the four ages were past, and 60 times 60 years, then 23 years from my birth were past."

3600 *Kali* corresponds to A. D. 499. *Āryabhaṭa I* was then 23 years old (not 33 as wrongly stated in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, XXIV, 13389). [3]As Bhāu Dājī has pointed out, the second word in his name is *Bhaṭa* and not *Bhaṭṭa*. He belonged to *Kusumapura* :

[4] ब्रह्मकुशशिबुधभृगुरविकुजगुरुकोणभगणान्नमस्कृत्य ।
आर्यभटस्त्विह निगदति कुसुमपुरेऽभ्यर्चितं ज्ञानम् ॥

Kusumapura is usually identified with *Pāṭaliputra*, *i.e.* modern Patna. In his commentary on this verse *Nīlakaṇṭha* says: अश्मकजनपदजात आर्यभटाचार्यः । On[5] the authority of Apte's Dictionary and from the fact that the *Āryabhaṭasiddhānta* has been more popular in *Kerala* than in any other part of India, K. Sambasiva Sastri says that " some take it to be ancient Travancore."

His work which is usually described as the earliest of the extant *Pauruṣajyotiṣagranthas*,[6] is variously called[7] the *Āryabhaṭīya* (most popularly), *Bhaṭasiddhānta*, *Āryabhaṭasiddhānta*,

[2] Verse 10 of the *Kālakriyāpāda*.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] Verse 1 of the *Gaṇitapāda*.

[5] *Vide* Introduction, Trivandrum Sans. Series, No. 101. On the popularity of *Āryasiddhānta* in South India cf. also Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, *Siddhāntas*.

[6] See Dikshit, *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[7] See India Office (Eggeling) No. 2767; Madras D. 13392 where an additional verse at the beginning of *Sūryadeva's* commentary calls it *Aryabhaṭaproktasūtra*; Madras D. 13393 where *Yallaya* calls it *Aryasūtra*; Mitra, *Notices*, III, 1586 where the colophon calls it *Vṛddhāryabhaṭasiddhānta*.

Āryasiddhānta, *Āryāṣṭāsʼata* (this properly applies to sections 2—4 only), *Vṛddhāryabhaṭasiddhānta*, *Prathamāryasiddhānta*, *Āryabhaṭīyasūtra* and *Āryasūtra*. According to Bhāu[8] Dāji, *Āryabhaṭīyasūtra* is the correct title. The work consists of 4 sections, the *Dasʼagītikāsūtra*, the *Gaṇitapāda*, the *Kālakriyāpāda* and the *Golapāda*. The first section, *viz*. the *Dasʼagītikā* consists of 13 couplets in *Gīti* metre. The invocation, *i.e.* the first couplet, the *Paribhāṣā*, *i.e.* the second couplet which is a clue to the system of notation employed by the author, and the closing couplet which is a *Phalasʼruti*, are omitted in the account of the ten couplets constituting the *Dasʼagītikā*. The other 3 sections consist of 108 verses and are therefore usually called the *Āryāṣṭāsʼata*. According to commentators, *Dasʼagītikā* and *Āryāṣṭāsʼata* are two separate works. Dikshit[9] mentions only *Sūryadeva* as one who holds this view. But I may add that it is shared by *Paramesʼvara*, *Nīlakaṇṭha* and also by another commentator whose work is noticed here for the first time. Dikshit, however, thinks that there is no need to take them as separate treatises, as one is dependent on the other and neither has any use without the other.[10] He observes:

परंतु ते दोन्ही परस्परांवर अवलंबून आहेत । एकावांचून दुसर्याचा कांहीं उपयोग नाहीं म्हटलें तरी चालेल म्हणून दोहोंमिळून एकच सिद्धान्त मानावा हें युक्त होय ।

The text of the *Āryabhaṭīya* has been published several times with commentaries.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 397.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[10] On the relation of the two parts see also J. F. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, pp. 109-26; G. R. Kaye, *J. A. S. B.*, IV (1908), p. 117 *et seq.*; Indian mathematics, pp. 11-14, 35, 36; Thibaut, *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, pp. 56 *et seq.* The following may be noted here. No. 1566 in Mitra's *Notices*, III, contains chapters 2-4. The colophon at the end of the *Golapāda* here is इत्यार्यभटीये गोलपादस्तृतीयः । In Madras D. 13385 the first chapter is called *Dasʼagītikāsūtra* while the rest are designated as *Pādas*. In Madras D. 13388 the *Dasʼagītikāsūtra* is placed at the end.

Āryabhaṭa II was later than *Brahmagupta*. Dikshit[11] assigns him to the 10th century A.D. ,His work consisting of 18 chapters, is called the *Āryabhaṭamahāsiddhānta* or the *Dvitīyāryasiddhānta*.

In a MS. of it in the Deccan[12] College Collection it is called the *Laghvāryasiddhānta*. The work, however, nowhere calls itself by either of the epithets of *mahat* and *laghu*. MSS. of this are available both in India[13] and Europe. An edition of this by Sudhakara Dvivedi is mentioned in the British Museum Catalogue[14]. I had no opportunity to see it. Sewell[15] writes: " Dr. Fleet tells me that the late Mahahahopadhyaya Sudhakara Dvivedi, of Benares, was engaged in editing this work, but it is not known here how far he has gone with it, and whether any instalment of it has yet been published. Dr. Fleet adds that, so far as can be ascertained, no other text of it has been published, and no translation, and there seems to be not even a manuscript of it anywhere in Europe." Fleet was probably not aware of the existence of MSS. in European collections at the time or these were acquired there later.

I notice here a very rare and hitherto unknown commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīya*, the work of *Āryabhaṭa I*. The commentaries now known on the work are the following.

The[16] *Āryabhaṭatantrabhāṣya* of *Bhāskara*

The[17] *Āryabhaṭaprakāśa* or *Āryabhaṭīyasūtrārthaprakāśikā of Sūryadeva*.

The *Āryabhaṭatātparyavyākhyāna*[18] of *Yallaya*, disciple of *Sūryadeva*.

[11] See Dikshit, *Ibid.*, p. 230; Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar* (1896) p. 8.

[12] See Dikshit, loc. cit.

[13] See Weber, *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse Der Königlichen Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1731 (A detailed account of the 18 chapters is given here). Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum*, 770; Hrishikesh Sastri, Catalogue of MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, IX, 16; Mitra, *Notices*, 1568.

[14] 1906-28, p. 28.

[15] *Indian Chronology* (1912) pp. 62-63.

[16] See Keith, India Office Catalogue, 6265.

[17] See Keith, 6266; Madras D. 13389 *et seq*.

[18] See Keith, *Ibid.*, 6270; Madras D. 13393.

The *Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya*[19] of *Somes'vara.*

The *Bhaṭadīpikā*[20] of *Parames'vara.*

The *Āryabhaṭamahābhāṣya*[21] of *Nīlakaṇṭha.*

The *Bhāṭṭapradīpa* (*Bhaṭapradīpa*) of[22] *Bhūti*(*Bhūta*)*viṣṇu.*

In the *Adyar Library Bulletin*[23] I have published a fragment of *Bhūtiviṣṇu's* commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta.* I have there drawn attention to the fact that in this available portion of the work, the author refers to his commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīya,* namely *Bhāṭṭapradīpa* (perhaps correctly *Bhaṭapradīpa*). As a commentator on the *Āryabhaṭīya,* he was known to scholars of the last century under the name *Bhūtaviṣṇu.*[24] Aufrecht[25] also mentions him by this name under *Das'agītisūtra* instead of mentioning him as a commentator under *Āryabhaṭa.* However, neither his commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta* nor his date seems to have been known to these scholars. There was even a time when the early date of *Āryabhaṭa* was wrongly supposed to be the date of *Bhūtiviṣṇu.*[26] In my paper I have pointed out that he was later than *S'rīpati* who flourished in the 11th century A.D.

Madras R. 5261 is described as an anonymous commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīya.* Another anonymous commentary is mentioned in the Catalogue of MSS. in the Mysore Government Library (1922), No. 4437. Besides these Aufrecht[27] notices two anonymous

[19] See Bhāu Dāji, *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[20] Edited by Kern, Leiden (1874); by Udaya Narayan Singh, with a Hindi Translation, Madhurapur, 1906.

[21] Published in the Triv. Sans. Series, Nos. 101 and 111.

[22] See Bhāu Dāji, *Ibid.*, p. 396 *et seq.*, Poleman, *Indic MSS.*, 4669.

[23] Vol. V, Part 2.

[24] See Bhāu Dāji, *Ibid.*, p. 396 *et seq*; Kern, Preface to *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, pp. 56-57. I was not aware of this when I published the paper. In the fragment of the commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta, his name is given as Bhūtiviṣṇu.

[25] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 247.

[26] Kern writes (*Ibid.*, p. 57): ". . . I hesitated between Bhūtavishṇu and Āryabhaṭa."

[27] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 53. In the Adyar Library catalogue (1928), II, p. 48 there is noticed a commentary with the title *Nītiprakās'a*. This is probably a mistake for *Gītiprakās'a*, i.e. *Das'agītiprakās'a*. As the MS. is not in the Library now, I cannot examine it. If it is not any one of those mentioned here, I shall describe it on another occasion.

commentaries, Mack. 721 and Oppert 4519. It is not known whether these are any of the above.

The rare commentary which is noticed here is that of *Raghunātharāja* of *Ahobila* (Ahobala), disciple of *Śrīpati* (not the famous astronomer *Śrīpati* of the 11th century). A complete MS. of this (8. H. 56) is one of the most covetable and valuable treasures of the Adyar Library. As a note in English (apparently in his own hand) on the obverse of a fly-leaf at the beginning says, the *codex unicum* was presented to the Library by the late Pandit N. Bhashya Acharya. (It is well known that the rich collection in the Adyar Library is mainly the fruit of the labours of this great scholar). The contents of the MS. are given on the reverse of this fly-leaf (in *Devanāgarī* script) as follows:

आर्यभटीयविषयानुक्रमणिका (सूचिपत्रम्) कालामृतसूची ।
आर्यभटीयम् (सव्याख्यानम्) ।
दैवज्ञाभरणम् (गोळम्) सव्याख्यानम् ।

As given here, the MS. contains at the beginning exhaustive indexes to the contents of the *Āryabhaṭīya* and the *Kālāmṛta*. Another fly-leaf at the beginning contains a Telugu note with the following Sanskrit rendering (Telugu script):

आर्यभटः कुसुमपुरे कल्यब्देषु 3600 गतेषु आ. स.—499 वत्सरे ग्रन्थं कृतवान् । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य व्याख्यां श्रीपत्याचार्यशिष्यः रघुनाथराजः अहोबिले कल्यब्देषु 4693 व्यतीतेषु हेविलम्बिवत्सरे ए. डि. 1597 वत्सरे रचयामास । अत्र विषया भूयांसस्सन्ति । ते त्वन्यत्र प्रायशो नावगम्यन्ते । एतत्पुस्तकं दक्षिणापथे मृग्यमभूत् । (Then in Telugu language) दैवज्ञाभरणं ज्योतिस्सिद्धान्तमु असमग्रमु ।

On a third fly-leaf Pandit Bhashya Acharya writes: "Aryabhata Siddhanta with commentary by Raghunatha Rajah. Aryabhata lived about 499 A.D. Raghunatha Rajah lived about 1597 A.D. This is a rare work treating about (of) certain higher portions of mathematics and also astronomy."

Description of the MS.

Paper. Pages of indexes (8) not numbered. Pages of the Āryabhaṭīya numbered 1—371. Pages of the Daivajñābharaṇagola separately numbered 1—30. $13\frac{2}{10}'' \times 8\frac{6}{10}''$. 25—35 lines in a page. Telugu script. Old. Some folia injured. Cursively written sometimes in a large and sometimes in a medium hand. Bound in book form.

The Library has recently made a *Devanāgarī* transcript (38. F. 29) from the MS. In the introductory verses *Raghunātha* invokes God *Nṛsiṃha* of *Ahobila* and gives some valuable information about himself. The MS. begins as follows:

आर्यभटीयोपोद्घातः । श्रीरामजयः । शुभमस्तु ।

वन्दे श्रीवदनारविन्दतरणिं श्रीगारुडाद्रीश्वरं
प्रह्लादाश्रितपादपद्मयुगलं भक्तामृताब्धिं सदा ।
भाषाधीश्वरपार्वतीप्रियशचीनाथादिसंसेवितं
ज्ञानानन्दनिधिं निरस्तकलुषं वात्सल्यवारां निधिम् ॥
यस्तन्वन् सुरवैरिसूनुवचनं स्तम्भादभूत्सूनृतं
यः श्रीवक्त्रसरोजदर्शनमुषा(? मिषा)शान्ताकृतिस्तत्क्षणात् ।
लोकान्सामरदानवान्समतनोद्भीतान्पुरा निर्भयान्
स श्रीगारुडशैलशेखरमणिर्देवो नृसिंहोऽवतात् ॥
कर्नाटवंशकलशाम्बुधिकौस्तुभाभो विख्यातकीर्तिरभवद्भुवि वेङ्कटाख्यः ।
तस्यानघः शुभगुणोऽजनि नागराजस्तस्यात्मजो गुणनिधिर्भुवि कोण्डभूपः ॥
तस्य श्रीपतिदेशिकेन्द्रकरुणापूर्णोऽस्ति पुत्रो महान्
नाम्ना श्रीरघुनाथराज इति यः ख्यातो विशुद्धाशयः ।
लक्ष्मीगर्भसुधाब्धिकौस्तुभमणिः ख्याताश्च यद्भ्रातरः
सन्तः कल्पतरोरिव प्रतिदिनं कामान्लभन्ते यतः ॥
करोम्यार्यभटव्याख्यां कर्नाटकुलसंभवः ।
विशदां विदुषां प्रीत्यै रघुनाथावनीश्वरः ॥

The genealogy given here is as follows :

Veṅkaṭa
|
Nāgarājā
|
Koṇḍa
|
Raghunātha (Mother : *Lakṣmī*)

Like many other astronomical works, this also contains a clue to the date of the author. In illustrating *Vyatīpāta* the following is given here :

[28] उदाहरणम् । हेविलम्बिसंवत्सरे चैत्रशुद्धप्रतिपदि कुजवासरे सूर्योदय-कालिकाः स्फुटग्रहाः ।

रविः ११ । ९ । ४७ । २३ । गतिः ५९ । ३० ॥

चन्द्रः ११ । १० । ३६ । ७ । गतिः ७७१ । १९ ॥

राहुः ११ । १ । ४० । ७ ।

अयनभागाः १६ । २८ । १२ ।

रवेरहःप्रमाणम् २९ । ५२ ॥

रवेर्दिनार्धम् १४ । ५६ ॥

सायनरविः ११ । २६ । १५ । २५ ॥

सायनचन्द्रः ११ । २७ । ४ । ११ ॥

सायनराहुः ११ । २४ । ८ । १९ ॥

The following details are given in illustrating the solar eclipse :

[29] उदाहरणम् । शालिवाहनशकाब्दाः १५१२ । कलिगताब्दाः ४६९२ । प्रभवादिगणनायां विकृतिसंवत्सर आषाढमासे दर्शे सोमवारान्तिको भौमवारोदय-कालिककल्यादिसावनद्युगणः १७१३५४१ ।

[28] Devanāgari Transcript, p. 280-81.
[29] P. 646.

The commentary on the verse on the *Yugāvamārātripramāṇa* (शशिदिवसा विज्ञेया०) also contains the following :

[30]शालिवाहनशकाब्दाः १५१९ । एतान् पूर्ववर्षराशौ संयोज्य जातो वर्तमानहेविलम्बिसंवत्सरावधिक . . . . . ॥

This[31] cyclic year *Hevilambi* (or Hemalamba) must be one corresponding to A.D. 1597-98, as Kali 4692, *S'aka* 1512 and *Vikṛti* (or *Vikṛta*) year correspond to A.D. 1590-91.

From all this it is evident that the commentary was written in the last decade of the 16th century. Raghunātha has, therefore, to be assigned to the latter half of the 16th century. *Ahobala* (Ahobila) is mentioned in the same place as the last of the above :

ज्ञेया[32] श्रीमदहोबलेऽत्र विघनच्छायागुणाः खत्रय-
स्तत्रैवाकृतिमानयोजनततिर्भूमध्यरेखावधिः ॥

The first section of the text is here called both *Das'agītikā-sūtra* and *Bījapāda*. The latter name occurs at the beginning of the section. On the relation and extent of the two parts of the text *Raghunātha* observes :

[33]एवमस्मिन्दशगीतिसूत्रे समस्तं गणितकालक्रियागोलात्मकं वस्तु परिसमाप्तम् । अस्यैव न्यायोपबृंहितप्रपञ्च उत्तरप्रबन्धः । तथा च तत्र तत्र प्रदर्शयिष्याम इति । कथमिदं शास्त्रं प्रबन्धद्वयात्मकम् । उच्यते । दशगीतिकायां यावदारम्भनमस्कारः कर्तृनिर्देशः प्रतिपाद्यप्रतिज्ञा च दृश्यते । अन्ते च प्रबन्धनामधेयप्रदर्शनपूर्वक उपसंहारः । अतः सोऽप्यपरः प्रबन्ध इति प्रबन्धद्वयात्मकमेवेदं शास्त्रमिति ।

अत्र गणितपादे त्रयस्त्रिंशत्सूत्राणि । कालक्रियापादे पञ्चविंशतिः । गोलपादे पञ्चाशत् । एवमष्टोत्तरशतमस्मिन्प्रबन्धे । पूर्वस्मिन्प्रबन्धे त्रयोदश एव ।

[30] P. 312.
[31] Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, 1896, p. 82.
[32] P. 342.
[33] Pp. 54-55 and 681.

एवं सूत्राणामेकविंशत्युत्तरशतमतीन्द्रियार्थप्रतिपादकमाचार्येण प्रणीतम् । एतानि च दिङ्मात्रेण मया व्याख्यातानि । एतेषामेकैकस्य सूत्रस्य ग्रन्थसहस्रेणापि निरवशेषार्थप्रतिपादनमशक्यम् । यथोक्तं भाष्यकृता—

अतीन्द्रियार्थप्रतिपादकानि सूत्राण्यमून्यार्यभटो वितेने ।
तेषामशक्यार्थशतांशकोटिर्वक्तुं कुतोऽस्मत्सदृशैरशेषैः ॥ इति ॥

This is the end of the work. The colophon here runs: इति श्रीकर्नाटवंशकलशाम्बुधिकौस्तुभेन श्रीमद्गारुडशिखरिशिरोमणिनरहरिचरणारविन्दभृङ्गराजेन श्रियःपतिदेशिककरुणाकटाक्षलब्धविद्याविशेषेण श्रीरघुनाथराजेन कृता श्रीमदार्यभटीयगोलपादव्याख्या संपूर्णा ॥ इत्यार्यभटीयव्याख्या संपूर्णा ॥ श्रीरामजयः ॥ ग्रन्थसंख्या ६८०० ॥

So, like all other commentators *Raghunātha* also regards *Das'agītikā* and *Āryāṣṭās'ata* as separate works. *Kusumapura* is here identified with *Pāṭaliputra*:

[34] कुसुमपुरे पाटलिपुत्रे । अभ्यर्चितं पूजितम् । ज्ञानं ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या शास्त्रम् । निगदति ब्रवीति । अत्र रोमशपौलिशवासिष्ठसौरेषु सत्स्वपि कुसुमपुरवासिभिरयमेव बहूपकृत इति द्योतयितुं कुसुमपुरेऽभ्यर्चितमित्युक्तम् ।

Among references in the commentary are the following.

Simharāja[35]; *Mallikārjuna*[36]; *Bhāskarabhāṣya*[37]; *Utpalaparimala*[38]; *Muñjāla*[39] (wrongly written as *Mañjula* in the MS.); *Vīrabhadra*[40]; *Ratnaparīkṣā*[41]. With regard to the age-old controversy relating to the *Pūrṇimānta* and *Amānta* months, *Raghunātha* says:

[42] अत्र केचिदाहुः । न शुक्लादौ मासस्य प्रवृत्तिः । कुतो वर्षादीनाम् । तथा हि मगधेष्वाषाढकृष्णप्रतिपदादौ मासवर्षादीनां प्रवृत्तिराषाढसितपञ्चदश्यां च निवृत्तिर्व्यवह्रियते । एवं सिंहराजेनापि शुक्लान्तो मासः स्वतन्त्रे प्रतिपादितो होरायामपि ।

[34] P. 58.
[35] P. 362.
[36] P. 453.
[37] P. 453.
[38] P. 610.
[39] P. 610.
[40] P. 611.
[41] P. 487.
[42] Pp. 362-63.

अचन्द्रयुतान्नवभागान्मासा शुक्लान्तनामसदृशाः ।

इति । अत्रोच्यते । प्रायशो देशेषु सुराष्ट्रप्रभृतिषु कृष्णान्त एव मासो व्यवह्रियते न सितान्तः । यच्च सिंहराजेनोक्तं तद्ग्रन्थपरिभाषाभिप्रायकं न सर्वविषयम् । होराग्रन्थस्य चाप्यन्य एवार्थः । चन्द्रयुतान्नवभागात्प्रष्टुर्मासो वाच्यः । स च शुक्लान्तनामसदृश इति । शुक्लान्ते यन्नक्षत्रनाम कृत्तिकादि तत्सदृशः कृत्तिकासु युक्तश्चन्द्रमाः पूर्णिमायामिति कार्तिको मास इति । न तु शुक्लान्तो मास इत्यर्थः । अत एवोक्तं यवनेश्वरेण . . . . ॥

The commentary of *Raghunātha* is unique in that it contains, as remarked by Bhashya Acharya, matter which is not found in the other commentaries of the *Āryabhaṭīya*. In the short compass of a paper like this it is not possible to do justice to this aspect of the work, which has to be dealt with separately. I now content myself by giving only some information regarding the author and date of the work.

A NEW RECENSION OF THE MAHĀNĀṬAKA

By H. G. Narahari, M.A.

Of the Dramas known in Sanskrit Literature, the *Hanumannāṭaka* called also the *Mahānāṭaka*, is unique. Neither by its structure, nor by its contents does it attempt to justify, even in the smallest degree, the title Drama given to it. Strict scenic divisions are absent in the play, and there is absolutely no notice of entrances or exits. There is also no general indication of the speaker; one has either to infer the appropriate persons from the business of the scene or allow himself 'to be directed to their specification by the conjectures of the commentator.' The so-called play is conspicuous

for the absence in it of the Vidūṣaka and Prākṛt passages. It has, in short, more the look of an Epic Poem than of a Dramatic piece. As a work of art, it is undeniably an imperfect performance.[1] It seems to have passed various hands for it betrays, not infrequently, its capacity to plagiarize stanzas from works[2] in vogue at the time.

Its claim that it is the work of Hanumān, the monkey-ally of Rāma, is a tale which is of mere legendary interest; and, for purposes of all scientific enquiry, it can be nothing short of a *canard*.

Still the Drama is quite popular as is evidenced by the fact that it has been commented more than once, and that an attempt has been made even to excerpt[3] from it. It is also known in a number of recensions. *Two* of these are well-known; the western recension, ascribed to Dāmodaramiśra, contains 581 stanzas in 14 Acts, while the eastern (*i.e.* Bengal recension) attributed to Madhusūdana, contains 730 stanzas in 9 Acts. In his article, *The Problem of the Mahānāṭaka*,[4] Dr. S. K. De mentions a *third* recension given by eight MSS. in the Dacca University Manuscript Collection. A specimen of this recension is also given by him there.[5]

What may well be regarded as a *fourth* recension of the *Mahānāṭaka* is given by the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* of which numerous MSS. are available in Madras, Tanjore and Mysore. Over half a dozen MSS. of this work are found in the Adyar Library, though many of them are found to be incomplete. Aufrecht[6] is aware of this work, but his characterisation of it as 'a

[1] For a similar estimate of the play, see H. H. Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, II. 363; A. A. Macdonell, *India's Past*, pp. 112 ff.; Lüders would on the basis of these peculiarities consider the *Mahānāṭaka* to be a 'shadow play'.

[2] For details, see S. Bhattacharya, *The Mahanataka Problem: a Clue to its solution* in the *Proceedings and Transactions of VII All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda*, p. 43.

[3] See my paper, *The Sītāsvayaṁvara: an Excerpt from the Mahānāṭaka* due to appear in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore*.

[4] *IHQ.*, VII. 537 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 576 ff.

[6] *CC.*, II. 100 b; III. 94 b.

poetical treatment of the first six *kāṇḍas* of the Rāmāyaṇa'[7] cannot be accepted as accurate. The work is in fact only an enlargement of the well-known *Mahānāṭaka* or *Hanumannāṭaka*, an attempt to replenish it by bringing together into it the numerous verses known at the time as dealing with the story of Rāma. In place of the Acts into which the *Mahanāṭaka* is divided, the divisions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *i.e.*, *Bālakāṇḍa* etc. are here adopted. The sparsely scattered prose-passages and the few out-of-place stage directions which occur in the *Mahānāṭaka* are entirely omitted, thereby nullifying the little claims the work had for being called a Drama. Mindful only of the narration of the story of Rāma in full, the author has not made any attempt to show out his work as a Drama. The kernel of the work is the *Mahānāṭaka*, but a good number of verses besides have either been composed by the author taken out from works, narrating the story of Rāma, known at the time. This is avowed even by one of the colophonic verses of the work occurring at the end of each *kāṇḍa* :

> *S'rīmān immaḍidevarāyanṛpates svarlokakallolinī kallola-pratimallasūktivibhavo vidvajjanas'lāghitaḥ* |
> . . . *kāṇḍaviṣayān vyastān mahānāṭake s'lokān varṇa-padakramojjvalatarān ramyān akārṣīt prabhuḥ* ||

In the course of this process, the *Mahānāṭaka*, which is the nucleus, is twisted beyond its original shape and, losing all its appearances of a Drama, becomes a mere narrative poem (*kāvya*). It also gets[8] a new name, the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi*.

The entire work consists of 519 verses; and the following table shows that at least 55 of them belong to the *Mahānāṭaka* :

[7] *Ibid.*, III. 94b; Krishnamachariar copies the same mistake when, in his turn, he describes the work as 'an anthology of the story of Rāmāyaṇa' (*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 641).

[8] Some MSS. like XXV. 2-11, XXII. 2-13, XXV. C. 24 in the Adyar Library, No. 4704 (*Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. VIII) in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore and some MSS. in the Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore, contain colophons where the work is designated only *Mahānāṭaka* thereby acknowledging its close relationship to the well known *Mahānāṭaka*. Even in the present codex (XXX. K. 11), the colophons of cantos III, IV and V conclude इति हनुमत्प्रोक्ते महानाटके. . . .

		M N S[9]	M N[10]	
			Madhu-sūdana	Dāmo-dara
1.	Vighnes'o vas sa pāyā	I. 1	I. 2	—
2.	Etau tau	I. 6	I. 9	—
3.	Kalyāṇānām nidānam	I. 7	I. 8	I. 1
4.	Ādvīpāt tvarato'pyam [11]	I. 39	I. 24	I. 10
5.	Yāvat Kandukavañcanam	I. 48	I. 36	—
6.	Truṭyad Bhīmadhanuḥ	I. 50	I. 37	I. 26
7.	Lokān sapta	I. 52	I. 35	
8.	Dordaṇḍāñcitācandras'ekhara-dhanuḥ [12]	I. 54	I. 38	
9.	Kurvan Kopātirekāt	I. 77	II. 2	
10.	Utpattiḥ jamadagnitaḥ [13]	I. 83	II. 27	I. 55
11.	Atyagniḥ jamadagniḥ	I. 84	II. 11	
12.	Bho brahman	I. 85	II. 17	I. 42
13.	Hāraḥ Kaṇṭham vis'atu	I. 86	II. 15 [14]	
14.	Ayam kanṭhaḥ kuṭhāraste	I. 87		I. 41
15.	Ādāveva kṛs'odarī	II. 5		III. 13
16.	Sadyaḥ puriparisareṣu	II. 7	III. 15	III. 12
17.	Pathi pathikavadhūbhiḥ	II. 8	III. 17	III. 15
18.	Masṛṇacaraṇapātam	II. 9	III. 18	
19.	Mātas tātaḥ kva yātaḥ	II. 13	III. 29	III. 8
20.	Kapole jānakyāḥ	III. 17	III. 50	I. 19
21.	Āmelayan vis'ikham	III. 33	III. 56	IV. 1[15]
22.	Hastābhyāsam upaiti	III. 34	III. 57	IV. 2[16]
23.	Rāmonmuktaikabāṇa	III. 44	III. 61	
24.	Hā rāma hā ramaṇa	III. 45	III. 67	IV. 14
25.	Maināḳaḥ Kimayam	III. 51	III. 73	IV. 9
26.	Re re bho paradāracora	III. 53	III. 77	IV. 7
27.	Mā bhaiṣīḥ putri sīte	III. 54	III. 78	IV. 10
28.	Akṣam viksipati	III. 57	III. 81	IV. 11
29.	Hā pūrṇas'ālāṅgaṇarājahaṁse	III. 71	IV. 2[17]	

[9] This abbreviation signifies *Mahānāṭakasūktasudhānidhi*.
[10] This signifies *Mahānāṭaka*.
[11] This verse is found also in the *Prasannarāghava*, I. 32.
[12] A slightly variant version of this verse is found in the *Mahāvīra-carita*, I. 54.
[13] See for V. L. in *Mahāvīracarita*, II. 36.
[14] This contains a slightly varied version.
[15] This is a slightly varied version.
[16] This contains a variant reading of the verse.
[17] This contains a V. L.

30.	Hā devi janakavaṁs'ajavai-jayanti	III. 72	IV. 9[18]	V. 8
31.	Saumitre nanu sevyatām[19]	III. 77	IV. 22	V. 19
32.	Candraḥ candratarāyate	III. 78	IV. 31	
33.	Jātas tvam nijatejasaiva	III. 90	IV. 40	
34.	Dyūte paṇaḥ	IV. 11	IV. 21	V. 1
35.	Ekenaiva s'areṇa	IV. 16	IV. 60	V. 51
36.	Snigdhas'yāmalakānti	IV. 32	V. 7	
37.	Devājñāpaya kiṁ karomi	V. 1	VI. 29	VI. 4
38.	Mudre santi salakṣmaṇāḥ	V. 9	V. 60[20]	
39.	Re re vānara	V. 35	V. 82	VI. 22
40.	Eko'ham pavanātmajo	V. 38	V. 83	VI. 30
41.	Jānāmi rāmam	VI. 10		VII. 11
42.	Vinītam lakṣmaṇam	VI. 17	VI. 56[21]	VII. 18
43.	Cāpam ānaya saumitre	VI. 30	VI. 76[22]	
44.	Dambholi tīvraiḥ	VI. 31	VI. 77	
45.	Unmajjanti nimajjayanti	VI. 42	VI. 86	VII. 19
46.	Kas tvam vālitanūdbhavo	VI. 68	VII. 8	VIII. 39
47.	Re re kasyāsi	VI. 71	VII. 9	
48.	Re re rāvaṇa rāvaṇānapi	VI. 76	VII. 14	VIII. 34
49.	Re re rāvaṇa s'ambhus'ailakalane	VI. 80	VII. 39	VIII. 36
50.	Ete te mama bāhavaḥ	VI. 91	VII. 59	IX. 11
51.	Rāmas strīvraheṇa	VI. 95	IX. 40	
52.	Nyakkāro hy ayam eva	VI. 111	IX. 14	
53.	Re kāla tvam	VI. 181	IX. 59	
54.	Re re dakṣiṇahasta	VI. 195	IX. 86	
55.	Adhakṣiṇṇo laṅkā	VI. 218	IX. 113	

The remaining verses are mostly composed by the author himself for purposes of full narration. It is not unoften that, even on such occasions, a tendency is shown to multiply veses in imitation of some of those found in the *Mahanāṭaka* itself, making very little changes in the original. The following are some such instances :

1. *Jānāmi sītām janakaprasūtām jānāmi rāmam madhusūdanañ ca* ।
   vanañ ca jānāmi nijam das'āsyas tathāpi sītām na samarpayāmi ॥ —*MND.*[23] *VII. 11*

[18] This is a variant version of the verse.
[19] The verse occurs also in the *Prasannarāghava*, VI. 1.
[20] This contains a slightly varied version.
[21] This contains some variant readings.
[22] This is a slightly varied version of the stanza.
[23] This signifies *Dāmodara's* recension of the *Mahānāṭaka*.

Jānāmi rāmam raghunandanañ ca . . . .
Vadhyañ ca jānāmi yathā das'āsyam tathāpi sītām na samarpayāmi ‖ —*MNS. VI. 10*

2\. *Indraṁ mālyakaraṁ sahasrakiraṇaṁ dvāri pratīhārakam*
Candraṁ chatradharaṁ samīravaruṇau sammārjayantau gṛhān ।
Pākasyopari niṣṭhitam hutavaham kim madgṛhe nekṣase
Rakṣobhakṣyamanuṣyamātravapuṣā kiṁ stauṣi re rāghavam ‖ —*MNM.*[24] *VII. 60*

Candraṁ chatradharaṁ samīravaruṇau sammārjayantau gṛhān
Indram mālyadharaṁ kuberam athavā kos'e niyuktam punaḥ ।
Pāke sampariniṣṭhitam hutavaham matvā gṛham vīkṣate
Rakṣobhakṣyamanuṣyamātravapuṣam kiṁ stauṣi taṁ rāghavam ‖ *MNS. VI. 96*

The authorship of the work is attributed to one *Immaḍi*[25] *Devarāya*. This might be the same as King Devaraya II of Vijayanagar who is called *Vīrapratāpa Prauḍha Immaḍidevamahārāyar* in an inscription found on the East wall of the Somanāthes'vara temple.[26] But the real author may be a *protégé* of this King.

The *Rāmābhyudaya* of *Aruṇagirinātha* (*S'oṇādrinātha*) concludes its V Canto with the verse:[27]

S'oṇādrīndraṁ kavīndraṁ s'ravaṇakaṭuraṭaḍ ḍiṇḍimaṁ sārvabhaumaṁ
Prāsūtāmbābhirāmā navanavakavitābhājanaṁ rājanāthāt ।

[24] This signifies *Madhusūdana's* recension of the *Mahānāṭaka*.

[25] This name is sometimes mis-spelt as *Ammaḍi* (*Whish 67*), *Immida* (*Madras* R. 609 c) and *Nimmiḍi* (*Madras*, R. 1504*a*) ; *Tanjore* 4703 makes the author *Mummaḍi*.

[26] E. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*. I. 110 ; for this identification see his *Report on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India*, I, x.

[27] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 85.

Taṣyaitasminnayātikramaviṣayamahānāṭakasyāgrajāte.
Kāvye sargo nisargojjvalarasavilasat pañcamo'yam jagāma ||

The work is here called *Mahānāṭakasyāgrajātakāvya*, suggesting thereby that it was composed before the *Mahānāṭaka*. This has made some [28] think that *Aruṇagirinātha* is the author of the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi*. But there are numerous difficulties in the way of accepting such a position. In the first place, it is not certain which *Mahānāṭaka* is meant here, and it is most unusual that an author should call the work on hand something which precedes a future production of his. Most important of all, is the phenomenon that the authorship of the *Rāmābhyudaya* and the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* is different; the former is the work of *Sāluva Narasimha*, while the latter is ascribed to *King Devarāya II* of Vijayanagar. The former was minister in power only from about 1455 A. D., while *King Devarāya II* ruled between A. D. 1421-48, long before the former could attain any prominence. It is possible that Aruṇagirinātha was patronized by both; but then the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* will have to be the earlier work as it is attributed to *Immaḍi Devarāya* who was in power earlier than *Sāluva Narasiṁha*. It is, therefore, not certain that the *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* is the work of *Aruṇagirinātha*.

There need, however, be no difficulty in determining its date. The author, whoever he is, was patronized by *King Devarāya II* [29] of Vijayanagar who reigned between A. D. 1421-48, and should as such belong to the 15th century A. D.

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[28] M. Krishnamachariar, *op. cit.*, p. 771, n. 4; The final colophon of one of the *Adyar Library* MSS. (XXX. K. 11) runs (fol. 42*a*) . . . . . *dhīmān ḍiṇḍimakāravastuviṣayān vyaktān mahānāṭake s'lokān varṇapadakramojjvalataran ramyān akārṣit prabhuḥ*. This shows that the *Diṇḍima* family of poets, to which *Aruṇagirinātha* belongs, had some connection with this work.

[29] This cannot be *Devarāya V* of Vijayanagar as M. Krishnamachariar would have it (*op. cit.*, p. 641).

REVIEWS

Indian Culture, its Strands and Trends (Kamala Lectures) by Hirendranath Datta, *Vedāntaratna* (Calcutta University, 1941).

Mr. Hirendranath Datta, whose name is widely known and honoured for his deep study of Indian philosophy, comes in the distinguished line of Kamala lecturers, among whom he professes to take his place with an abiding sense of humility. The theme of his discourses is Indian Culture, studied in its essentials and in regard to its future direction. A long life dedicated to study and meditation, a scholarly mastery of Indian thought, and association with many to whom the great destiny of India was an article of faith will explain the notes of conviction and confidence which run through these discourses, which might occasionally appear to reach the limits of dogmatism. Deference to other thinkers does not weaken Mr. Datta's vigorous statement of his own views even when they run counter to popular opinion. He denies with emphasis the *cultural* ruin brought in the wake of British conquest, which was asserted by Mahatma Gandhiji (p. 17). He is no believer in the doctrine of non-violence, which he regards as un-Aryan and as likely to produce national enfeeblement (*klaibya*) (p. 16). He looks with confidence to the death of imperialism in the war now raging (p. 103). But, he affirms (p. 115) that "it is not only futile but foolish to work for separate sovereignty for India—what has been called *Pūrṇa Svarāj*—thus preferring the ideal of isolation to that of integration." He believes in *Varṇāsramadharma*, as expounded for instance by Dr. Bhagavan Das, as the cause of India's escape from any calamities and as the real cement of future social order (p. 78). He believes in the inevitableness of a new world order in

the making of which India will play a prominent part, and of a world federation, in which the assumed conflict of East and West will vanish (pp. 110, 115). The argument of the five discourses on Indian Culture are turned to the establishment of this conclusion, and to the vindication of faith in India's great destiny as world teacher, by the universal acceptance of India's cultural ideals.

In the determination of truth, antiquity is irrelevant as proof. Nevertheless, it has a common appeal. Mr. Datta, after defining culture as "the *outer* expression of the *inner* genius of a people," *kṛṣṭi*, refers with unction to the antiquity of Indian culture (p. 7), its uniqueness (p. 5) and its vivid survival (p. 8) owing to its possession of the germ of immortality (p. 10). It is on this hypothesis of its undying character (*amṛtatva*) that he joins issue with Mahatmaji on the *ruination* of Indian culture, for, to Mr. Datta, such a thing is impossible. The vitality of Indian culture is sought to be established by reference to some of its features: its adaptability (*samañjasatā*), its tolerance (*sahiṣṇutā*), which Mr. Datta would prefer to call "cosmopolitanity" (*sic*), and its power of assimilation (*grasiṣṇutā*), (p. 18). India's genius is for conservation and preservation and not for elimination (p. 22). It is "oceanic" in its catholicity (p. 23). These alone do not constitute its claim to superiority. *That* lies in its nobler ideas and ideals in religion, sociology, ethics and politics.

The second, third and fourth lectures are devoted to the explanation of the superiority of Indian ideals, as compared with those of the west. Religion is the most fundamental element in culture. Indian religion, as expounded in the Upaniṣads is a synthesis of the best. It is in the words of Mr. Datta "a reconciliator" (p. 25). Brahman is conceived in opposites (*aṇor aṇīyān, mahato mahīyān*), (p. 25). He is "the Supreme Unity of all contradictions." From His immanence follows the solidarity of mankind (p. 29). He is even in the sinner, and in the slave. (*Brahma dāśāḥ, brahma kitavaḥ*, p. 29). The body is the temple of which the lord is God. (*Devo devālaya prokto, yo jīvaḥ sa sadāśivaḥ*,

p. 30). Homage even to the outcaste is worship of the Divine, (p. 30). The inequality engendered or inherent in the *Varṇās'rama* system is merely apparent, not real, because of this, and because no *varṇa*, as no *puruṣārtha*, can be served to the exclusion of the others, all being complementary for reaching a harmonious end (p. 38). Indian culture alone harmonizes life in the world (*bhoga*) with renunciation (*tyāga*). Its fraternal relation to alien cultures springs from its inherent truth and catholicity (p. 42). The crudeness of Hellenic religion, when compared with the Indian, is established in the third lecture hy a comparison of the Homeric gods with the Īs'vara of the Vedānta. With due deference to Mr. Datta, the comparison should be characterized as one-sided and unfair. To compare Purāṇic deities like Indra (with their unsavoury escapades) with the gods of the Homeric pantheon will be juster. Such a comparison will not be very much to the advantage of Indian mythology. The superiority of the Indian philosophical ideal is established very much more easily. The so-called pessimism of Indian thought is unreal. The concept of *mokṣa*, its *ānandam nandanātītam*, which is not only unthinkable but indescribable, being joy above joy (*yato vāco nivartante aprāphya manasā saha*), makes the Indian view the highest type of optimism (p. 72). Similarly, the Indian social system, which substitutes service for privilege, and follows natural divisions, escapes the class distinctions which disfigure and lower modern society, with its lip-service to human equality and its violation of all laws of humanity (p. 76 ff.) To a Hindu, all mankind are brethren (*bhrātaro manujāssarve*) and the triple-world is one's native country (*svades'o bhuvanatrayam*, p. 100). In the treatment of women and in rules of war, Indian ideals and practice have been immeasurably superior to those of the West. If followed, they would not justify the horrors of modern warfare. The ideal state of India was either a small state, or a loose federation in which justice between the integrating elements was maintained and ensured by a board of custodians of the eternal law (*Dharmapariṣat*).

Isolation was not an ideal of our past, nor should it be ours for the future.

Such is the outline of these discourses, which will be read with interest and attention as representing the views of a scholar of robust mental vigour, imbued with a passionate devotion to the elevation of mankind. Those who know his sources will fill up the blanks in the argument, supplement the citations of authority and overlook the parenthetical remarks that sometimes obscure and not illumine, as well as the combative tone, and recognize in these lectures a valuable contribution to the thought from which a future world synthesis may be attempted.

K. V. RANGASWAMI

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore, for the Year 1938. (University of Mysore), 1940.

Dr. M. H. Krishna's *Reports* have earned a place in the front rank of archaeological publications, and their admirable features are now stereotyped. In *format* the Mysore Reports match those of the Government of India, issued by the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, but they are more easy to handle, owing to their more convenient size, and they appear quicker, in spite of the circumstance that Dr. Krishna has also to discharge the duties of a University Professor of History and has a very much smaller staff. The credit due to him is all the greater.

The *Annual Report* for 1938 has some special attractions. It gives adequate descriptions, supplemented by suitable and well-executed illustrations, of the mural paintings in the Jaganmohan Palace at Mysore (pp. 46-71, Plates xxii to xxxi). The palace in which they are to be found was constructed only in 1861 by Maharāja Kṛṣṇarāja Waḍeyār III. But they were based on authentic originals which then existed and the portraits of some of

the chief officers, courtiers and contemporary princes, like Dost Mohammad and Ranjit Singh, are valuable both from artistic and historical standpoints. A long frieze gives the *Jambūsavāri* procession during *Vijayadas'ami*, in the days of the Mahārāja, when the old forms were carefully conserved. The large family of the ruler is depicted with great ingenuity and much artistic skill in a *Kalpadruma* ('Tree of Plenty') device. Another remarkable painting is that of an *amṛta-kalas'a* (vase of nectar), with a crescent shaped mouth (signifying the Lunar race, *chndravams'a*, to which the Mysore dynasty claims to belong) and the family is shown "as springing in the form of a highly variegated and single-leafed lotus plant, full of filigree decoration and arabesque against a blue background, and consisting of as many buds as the number of the rulers, the buds being linked to one another by brown leafy indicators in the order of the succession of the kings. Where the leaf terminates, three horizontally running circular panels represent Cāmuṇḍa, the patron deity of the dynasty" (p. 47). The picture was well worth reproduction in the original colours. The portraits have descriptive labels in Kannaḍa.

The sections on inscriptions and manuscripts are of unusual interest, and so are some of the images, which haye been photographed, from an icongraphic standpoint. By far the most numerous, among the inscriptions, are copies of *sanads* preserved in the *maṭha* of the Parakāla Svāmi, the *rājaguru*. The Parakāla Maṭha belongs to the Vaḍagalai branch of S'rīvaiṣṇavas and is said to have been frounded by Brahmatantrasvāmī, a direct disciple of the saint, philosopher and polyhistor, Vedānta Des'ika. Brahmtantraṣvāmī composed the commemoratory couplet on the death of the great *ācārya*, popularly known from its initial words as the *Rāmānujadayāpātram*. The recitation of this verse is obligatory for temples of the sect. A *sanad* of Kanṭīrava Narasimharāja Waḍeyār (for which either the date 1649 or 1709 may be assigned) states that the practice of reciting this verse in the great temple of Melkote had been in vogue from the time of Rāja Waḍeyār, and it

is ordered to be continued, in that temple and other temples of Viṣṇu. An inscription Kṛṣṇarāja Waḍeyār, son of the *second* Kanṭīrava Narasimharāja Waḍeyār (to whose reign Dr. Krishna would refer the above *sanad*), dated 1722 A. D., (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Seringapatam, 64) refers to a S'rīnivāsa-yati as the *guru* of the king. This anchorite is identified with Doḍḍa Parakālasvāmi, and a definite acknowledgment of the pontiff of the maṭha as the *rājaguru* is found in many inscriptions. The Vaḍagalai privilege of reciting this s'loka alone at the beginning of *prabandham* recitations is found modified in a *nirūpa* issued in 1783 to Tipu Sultan by the *roi faineant* asking him to see that at the Melkoṭe shrine *both* the Vaḍagalai s'loka and the Tengalai s'loka (beginning with the words *S'rīs'ailadayāpātram*) be allowed to be recited.

But by far the most important epigraph in this volume is the Hoskoṭeopper plate inscription of the Ganga king Koṅgaṇāydhirāja (Avinīta), pp. 80-90. Its date is c. 567. It establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu and Avanīta. The late MM. R. Narasimhācārya (*Mysore Report* for 1920, p. 48) had shown that this Pallava king was the contemporary of the son of Avinīta, Durvinīta. He also showed that they were contemporaries of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and the great poet Bhāravi. These results were deduced from literary records and they are confirmed by this inscription, as far as the kings are concerned.

Some of the images shown in the illustrations to this volume are of much iconographical interest. Among them mention may be made of the dancing Viṣṇu, with eight arms, (pl. xii, 2) and the Lakṣmīvarāha at Yelandur (pl. viii, 2). The figure of the lady playing a fiddle with a bow, in the Agastīs'vara temple at Tirumukadulu (pl. xiii, 3) is important in the history of Indian musical instruments.

K. V. RANGASWAMI

The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Luzac, 1938; 12 shillings). An Indian edition is issued.

Dr. Mahdi Husain prefaces his work with a declaration: "No greater service can be rendered to Indian historical research than the re-writing of the history of mediaeval India with a view to removing misunderstandings that are still being perpetuated." "It is believed for example" he adds "that the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of" hewers of wood and drawers of water for their Muslim masters; in as much as Muslim rulers were in general under the influence of Muslim jurists, who regarded the humiliation of the Hindus as a religious obligation." Purposive writing is not good for history, though it may be necessary for politics. A declaration like the above is apt to set a reader alert, and on the look-out for signs of partisanship in a study, whose *sole* aim should be to discover and state the truth. Research is within the ambit of its legitimate function when it aims at and secures precision, and incidentally corrects errors of statement or inference. It should aim at nothing more. A sense of chivalry or fair-mindedness in a historical investigator, particularly in dealing with personages or incidents which have been widely misunderstood, is apt to make him toe the line which separates history from advocacy. The frank declaration of Dr. Mahdi Husain that he presents his study of the rise and fall of Muhammad Tughluq with the definite aim of doing away with such beliefs and combating such arguments might lead the reader to anticipate that the book under review is a disguised political tract, and an addition to the growing series of monographs whose aim is simply to whitewash unsavoury reputations.

In spite of anticipations of such defence as is attempted in the volume under review of Muhammad bin Tughluq, his reputation, has remained unenviable, thanks to 'candid friends' like Zia-ud-din Baraṇi and Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, who have left descriptions of the monarch which are unflattering. The twenty-two rebellions of the reign show that *their* prejudice against the Sultan was widely shared by

his subjects. His ability, rising to genius, as well as his energy, courage, unselfishness and high conscientiousness and devotion to his ideals of duty are manifest even in the accounts of the contemporary writers, who have ultimately written him down. Modern writers have essayed a synthesis of his character from the conflicting reports of eye-witnesses, have discovered the cause of his failure in a nature of contradictions, and have described him as a visionary of high ideals which were "*self*-defeated." Such a verdict is as much a condemnation of the king as of idealism in politics.

To discover the real man in Muhammad bin Tughluq and his motives and evaluate his efforts and the causes of their failure, one must turn to a more close and critical study of all the material available than has yet been attempted. This is what Dr. Mahdi Husain has aimed at. In spite of the declaration of purpose, with which his study is prefaced, the treatment of the source material is acute and thorough, the facts and arguments are stated with precision and fairness and the conclusions are usually reasonable, just and warranted by the evidence. An appearance of over-emphasis is unavoidable when a writer essays to remove long-standing impressions. When due allowance is made for this feature, Dr. Mahdi Husain's study will be admitted as free from the taint of advocacy, and to be a contribution of real value to the history of mediæval India.

As most of the popular prejudice against the king springs from the accounts left by contemporary writers like Baraṇi and Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, an examination of their reliability is an essential pre-requisite of any study of the reign. Dr. Mahdi Husain has subjected the sources to an elaborate examination, exposed the concealed bias of the above writers, from whom later authors borrowed their facts and views, and examined them in relation to one another and to evidence which has now become available, like the fragmentary autobiography of the Sultan which Dr. Mahdi Husain has been able to lay his hands on, the Sanskrit epigraphs printed in Appendix B,

and the *Futūḥ-us-Salātīn*, which, in spite of its poetic form, is of great evidential value. His conclusion that Barani and Ibn Baṭṭuṭa are biased and unreliable, and that the Sultan has suffered both in his life-time and posthumously from his hostility to the Islamic religious leaders of his court, seems well established. Whether the Sultan was really inclined to favour his Hindu subjects (as Dr. Mahdi Husain would have us believe), or not, it seems probable that the orthodox Muslim section of his day looked on him as its enemy. The inconceivable humility with which the Sultan sought and received sanction for his office from the puppet Caliph at Cairo is explicable on grounds of policy in view of the growth of the above opposition.

For a documented review of the reigns of the Sultan, and his predecessors the reader must turn to the monograph under review To illustrate the distinctive results of Dr. Mahdi Husain a brief reference may be made to some of the conclusions in which he differs from accepted views. On the position of the Hindus in the Muslim state, he is definitely of the view that the entire "local" (village or rural) administration was controlled by them (p. 11) and that Hindu chiefs were granted *ināms* in recognition of their services. The Sultan's revenue reforms must have improved the position of the Hindu zamindar, who was reduced to penury by the land reforms of Ala-ud-din. Barring such of the Hindus as were attached to the court, the bulk of the Hindu inhabitants of Delhi were unaffected by the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, by which only the Muslim officers and religious leaders (p. 253) suffered. Hindu merchants and craftsmen were left alone to follow their pursuits and keep their earnings so long as they paid their taxes, including the *jizya*, from which, till the accession of Firuz Shah, the Brahmans were free (p. 217). They were governed by their customary laws and were not under Quranic law (p. 250). But the assumption that the Hindus were much better off than is usually supposed, which Dr. Husain claims to prove, is hardly established by the evidence he has collected.

The Sultan suffered both in his life-time and posthumously from the suspicion of his having caused his father's death. Dr. Husain, after an exhaustive examination of the evidence, regards the charge as baseless (pp. 66-74, 196). On the evidence, there is atleast justification for an open verdict.

Dr. Husain devotes a chapter (pp. 24-137) to an examination of the ambitious projects of the Sultan, and his conclusions seem warranted. The change of capital was dictated by political and military necessity. The danger spot in the Muslim empire, which reached its apogee in this reign, was the Dakhan, and the weakness of the empire there was lack of Muslims. The change of capital was to meet both needs (p. 109). An incidental gain was the removal from Delhi of the Muslim upper classes, who were hostile to the Sultan (p. 110). The common idea that Delhi was deserted by the change of capital is wrong (p. 115) ; it never was. Devagiri was not to replace Delhi but to serve only as a second capital (p. 123). But for the changes in the political situation, the Khorasan and Himalayan expeditions were practicable enough (p. 131) and were mutually supplementary. But the big armies raised for them led to a scarcity of silver, which necessitated the currency experiment of issuing bronze tokens (p. 133). The currency measures of the Sultan show his grasp of the need for reform. His mistake was his failure to forsee the unlimited possibilities for illicit coinage (p. 205) and his honesty in honouring even false tokens. Had he acted otherwise, one may remark, there would have been another sort of crisis, leading to the inflation of prices and paralysis of trade. The revision of taxes in the Doab was fiscally justified but was defeated by administrative disloyalty, leading the enraged emperor to his advertised 'man hunts.' Every one of the condemned schemes was defensible and in ordinary circumstances practicable enough, and will not justify the criticism of Lane Poole that their failure arose from their inherent idealism (p. 216).

Dr. Husain, after an elaborate review of the evidence (pp. 192-216) concludes that the Sultan's failure was neither retribution

for a mythical crime (patricide) nor the Nemesis of unpractical idealism. He would discover the root cause of Muhammad bin Tughluq's failure in his challenging the Ulema and his attempt to reform it, "which not only paralysed the right arm of the state but raked up hostilities, before which he succumbed and his imperialism perished." That a Sultan who atleast showed humanity on a wisely extensive scale during the great famine of 1335-41 should have failed after a long reign is to Dr. Husain a proof of the unwisdom of the state not leaving religion to itself. One might ask, "Was it possible in the conditions of the age?" and "Does religion even today leave the state alone?"

K. V. RANGASWAMI

Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of Mysore for 1939 and 1940. (Mysore University, 1940-41).

Mysore is an area exceptionally rich in ancient monuments. It has been surveyed systematically for many years and the results are embodied in the annual reports of the Archæological Survey of the State. In many cases, older survey materials are brought uptodate in such reports. But, while it is possible to maintain, as is done in the volumes under review, a high level of technical finish, it is not equally possible to sustain in successive volumes the same degree of interest for a reader. Accident rules discoveries. To say that the two volumes fall below that for 1938 in scientific attraction is not to deny the efficiency and zeal of the archæological department.

The inscriptional material in the volumes is not striking. The oldest epigraph goes only to A. D. 670, to the reign of the Cālukya Vikramāditya I (p. 129, *Report* of 1939). A more interesting document is a charter of guarantee, extorted from a local chief in 1527, in which he pledges himself not to levy unjust imposts from the villages in his control. This charter (*nambigeya s'āsana*) shows that even in the days of Kṛṣṇadevarāya such local oppression

was possible, and that it could be countered only by collective action of those affected.

The main value of the *Report* for 1939 consists in the photographs of several images of stone and metal, as well as relief figures, which are described. Many of them are of high artistic value. Some are of gods or avatāras, not usually represented pictorially. The image of Hayagrīva at Nagalāpura (a name suggestive of its connection with the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, though its temple, where the image was found, must be far older) and those of Dhanvantari and Yoga-Nārāyaṇa in the same shrine (p. lxiv, 2, 3; pl. xv, 1) come under this category. The animal friezes in the S'āntinātha-basti (pl. x, i, 2 and 3) have been carved with spirit and delicacy. These are of high artistic excellence and are fine samples of idol carving and sculpture in a region which has for centuries excelled in the art. A two-headed Basava in the Gaḍḍe Rames'vara temple at Cennapatna is probably unique, as two-headed *bulls* are not met with in our sculpture. Such figures reflect less fidelity to old *s'ilpa* canons or the unbridled imagination of a *s'ilpi* than the attempt to represent exceptional prowess, or eminence in the time-honoured way of multiplying heads and limbs or increasing the stature. The disproportionate stature of a king and his wives, of which the stature of Kṛṣṇarāja Waḍeyār and his queens in the temple at Nanjungūd furnish examples, illustrates this device. (Frontispiece to the *Report* for 1940).

The salient features of the *Report* for 1940 are the detailed description of the temple of Nañjuṇḍes'vara at Nanjungūd and of its images and sculptures, and the brief account of the excavations at the old As'okan town of Brahamagiri and at other sites during two years. The latter makes fascinating reading and makes one wish for fuller accounts of a region ancient even in Mauryan times.

The great temple at Nanjungūd is the most important S'aiva shrine in the state. It received considerable attention from the rulers of Mysore in recent times. Their munificence and piety stimulated private benefactions and efforts, and the ornamented

porch, which is valuable for its numerous figures, revealing the survival to the threshold of our times of the sculptural skill of the Mysore *s'ilpi*, was constructed by a rich man only some fifty years ago. The whole temple is a museum and treasure-house of images. In the wide *prākāra* there are 66 stone images, with descriptive labels, of which 63 are of the S'aiva saints (Nāyanmars), better known in the Tamil country than in the Kannaḍa area. Processional idols of these saints in metal are found close by. Dr. Krishna considers (p. 27) that the "copper images are good but the stone images are better." Close by are a series of thirteen liṅgas, ending with a *sahasra-liṅga*, and 25 images illustrating the traditional *līlās* of S'iva. On the parapets there are an immense number of well-executed figures of deities familiar to the readers of the Purāṇas, of which 122 are briefly identified. For the student of S'aiva iconography these sculptures and idols are of priceless value. A sculpture representing a strange animal, with a human trunk, an elongated leonine face, six legs and thirty-two arms, is taken by Dr. Krishna to represent the mythical *S'arabha*. The grotesque figure has to be interpreted not as the result of an artist's nightmare but as an attempt to depict pictorially a combination of qualities, which transcends animals and human limits of achievement.

On pl. xx, 1, there is the figure of a man struggling with a big tiger and thrusting a long dagger into its open jaws. It is to be found in the Bangalore Fort. Dr. Krishna thinks that the human figure represents Kempe Gauda the founder of Bangalore.

A word of praise is due to the Archæological Department and the Government of Mysore for the conservation of the tomb of Shāji, the father of the great S'ivāji, at Hoḍigere in Shimoga district (pl. xxi, 3 and 40). It is a commendable act of historical piety.

K. V. RANGASWAMI

Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology; Vol. II for 1939, By Braz A. Fernandes, Published by the Bombay Historical Society, Bombay, 1941. Price Rs. 5.

There are a large number of publications on subjects relating to Indology appearing in different parts of the world. What is termed Indology is not itself a simple subject. It has many sub-branches. There are various universities, various learned societies, various Libraries, various research and publication Institutions and a large number of individuals working in the field and the output in the form of books has become enormous in recent times. Then there are a large number of periodicals devoted to the subject. There are also annual reports of various Institutions containing information relating to the subject. Commemoration volumes form another variety of publications in the field. It is not possible for any one individual to be familiar with all the publications. It is a great service done by the Bombay Historical Society to have brought within a single volume all the contributions on the subject that have appeared in one year. The present volume relates to the year 1939. The first volume for the preceding year appeared as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.* The volume contains 1401 entries divided under five sections. Section I deals with India, Burma and Ceylon, and has sixty two subject-headings. This covers 134 pages and 1162 entries. The second section relates to Further India and Indonesia, subdivided into these two subjects. The adjoining countries of Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Tibet form the third section. The Islamic world is the content of the fourth section and the fifth section covers what is put as miscellaneous. After a short preface, there is a list of periodicals with abbreviations used; and then there is the list of publishers represented in the volume. In an illuminating Introduction the important lines of advance in knowledge in the field of Indology are marked out. The work closes with an index of authors and an index of subjects. Under each entry in the main body of the book, there is given all the relevant information about

the subject in a very brief, yet lucid way. There have been such bibliographies prepared and published periodically in former times. They have been discontinued. All students of Indology owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Bombay Historical Society for this contribution and it is hoped that this series will continue.

EDITOR

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki (in its North-Western Recension): Sundara Kāṇḍa. Critically edited for the first time from original manuscripts and supplied with an Introduction by Vishva-Bandhu Shastri, Lahore, 1940.

This is No. 18 of the D. A. V. College Sanskrit Series. The four previous sections of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have already appeared before our Bulletin began, in the years 1928 to 1936. The work of bringing out an edition of this recension started in 1921. The edition is based on ten manuscripts. The text is given on the top of the pages and the variants in readings are given on the bottom. The work has a very learned Introduction covering 93 pages, which follows a Preface of 13 pages. In the Introduction there is a full description of the manuscripts used for the edition and this is followed by a comparative view of the manuscripts. Then follows a discussion on the North-Western Recension. The study of the problem, comparing it with the North-Eastern and the Southern recensions, which are so far available, is very thorough and comprehensive. The last section of the Introduction relates to the editorial technique. From the Introduction and from the text itself, it is found that the variation in this recension from the other two recensions till now known, is very substantial. The deviation is not merely in the inclusion or exclusion of particular verses or particular chapters in full or in part, not merely in difference in readings of verses, but also in the division of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Kāṇḍas, the particular portion in the entire story

where a Kāṇḍa ends and another begins. The various tabular statements given in the Introduction make the position quite clear.

A reviewer has no business to dictate to an editor, nor to blame an editor for not including in the edition, materials which the reviewer considers useful and helpful. It would be a great asssistance to one who makes use of an edition of a particular recension of a work if he is supplied with the variants in the other recensions for the sake of comparison ready at hand instead of having to hunt for them elsewhere. But an editor has as much claim on those who use his edition to work up his needs himself with the assistance of what the editor has supplied, instead of demanding the work from the editor. I am led into this line of thought since I find clearly discussed in the Introduction the wide difference which this recension has from the other two till now known recensions and when I find that in the text itself, only the variants in the different manuscripts of the recension are given. The preparation of a concordance of *Rāmāyaṇa* comprehending the various recensions and variants in textual readings is an entirely new work. The editor has fully enlightened the readers on the main differences between the present recension and the two recensions till now known As for the critical material used in the edition and for the method of handling the material, it is nothing but praise that the editor deserves.

The differences among the recensions of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* are purely textual. The main theme is the same. There are other *Rāmāyaṇas*, for example the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*, where there is a great difference from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki in the theme itself, in the way in which the main story is handled. It is something material. Then there are many other *Rāmāyaṇas* like the *Rāmāyaṇa* current in Java. In South India also, other versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story must have been known. The various aspects of *Rāmāyaṇa* story found in different dramas in Sanskrit may have as their bases certain versions of the story of Rāma current at the time and need not be purely the inventions of the authors.

There are various other problems connected with *Rāmāyaṇa* criticism that deserve investigation. What is the origin of *Rāmāyaṇa*? Is there a historical nucleus behind the story? What stage does the Vālmīki version of the story represent in the evolution of the stories about Rāma? Does that represent the original line or is it a later modification of an earlier story? What is the date of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, as distinct from the antiquity of the Rāma story? Was there a person called Vālmīki who wrote the epic or did some poet write it and ascribe it to Vālmīki who was known to have been a contemporary of the hero?

The publication of material regarding the *Rāmāyaṇa* is always a great help in considering such problems. The editor has proved in his Introduction that the recension he has now published has a tradition behind it which warrants its authenticity and antiquity. All these recensions cannot be the work of Vālmīki. What is the work which Vālmīki wrote? This problem must yet be faced and the present edition is certainly one of the richest contributions by way of material for attempting a solution of this problem. I am eagerly awaiting the subsequent portion of work.

EDITOR

Women in Ṛgveda, By B. S. Upadhya, M.A., Benares.

This book of nearly 250 pages in Royal size is an original study on the position of women in the *Ṛgveda*. There is a short Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University. The book is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter deals with the various goddesses in the *Ṛgveda*. A description of these goddesses, as opposed to the gods, reveal various points regarding the status of women in the *Ṛgveda*, in so far as a nation conceives of gods and goddesses according to their fashion. In the next chapter there is the treatment of what an unmarried girl was at that time. The next two chapters deal with marriage, the first with marriage in general and the next with its features, customs and usages. The fifth chapter is devoted to a

consideration of the wife and the mother. Dress and ornaments form the subject matter of the sixth chapter. The seventh deals with education. The eighth chapter treats of women's liberty and the ninth treats of morality. In the tenth and last chapter there is a summary of the whole subject followed by a bibliography and index. From this brief description one can notice that the treatment is very full and comprehensive. The subject has been thought out and arranged in an ordered and logical sequence.

On account of the biblical notion of the world being only about five milleniums old and also on account of the appeal of the theory of evolution to the educated minds of the nineteenth century, the European scholars took the Vedic literature as primitive poetry and the Vedic society as nomadic semi-civilized one. Although scientists' notions about the antiquity of life on this planet has completely been revolutionized, there has been little change on the scholars' opinion about ancient Indian civilization. Scholars who write about the history of Indian civilization, history of Indian literature, and history of Indian philosophy and Indian Religion speak of the beginnings of civilization found in the vedic literature. But the Indian tradition has been always quite opposed to this theory of an evolution of civilization from the vedic period. The Indians passed on from generation to generation, until the modern scholars of the nineteenth century came on the scene with their evolution theory, a tradition of a period of great civilization at a very remote time, from which there has been a gradual decadence to our own times, with a hope of the restoration of the ancient civilization at the end of this rather short period of decay. Modern research scholars cannot completely ignore this continuous tradition in India which had persisted for a large number of centuries. Perhaps the condition of life as pictured in the Purāṇas during the Kṛta Yuga may be an exaggeration. But it may not be farther from the truth than the description of the semi-civilized condition of Society in the vedic period given by modern scholars.

The author of the present book has not been influenced by either of these extremes. He has collected facts from the *Ṛgveda* with a patience that gives credit to any scholar. He has been extremely cautious in drawing conclusions. He is fearless in stating facts that may not be quite welcome to a fanatic. He freely speaks about polygamy and even of polyandry, about lapses in morals, about wives having children through some one other than her husband when the husband is incapable of securing that blessing for her (the husband's younger brother being the normal resort in such cases), about a young wife marrying her husband's brother immediately after the death of her husband and about various such other customs that may shock a modern reader.

One may not accept all the conclusions arrived at by the author or the strength of the premises on which he has based his conclusions. Whether the incident of the love of Yamī for her brother Yama is enough evidence for the existence of an incestuous marriage between brother and sister as a recognized custom and whether the love of Prajāpati for his daughter and the love of Pūṣan for his mother are evidences for incestuous marriage between father and daughter and between son and mother, are matters on which controversy will continue. Although in the main, gods are conceived of in the form of man, it is only to a certain extent and not in all details. Whatever is described as existing among gods need not be taken as a reflection of what existed in the society also. Until evidence is shown about such customs prevailing among men, independent of stories about gods, the theory has to remain a bare postulate. The description of divine and super-mundane beings moving about in vimānas is not in itself a proof of ancient Indians having used means of aerial transport. In many matters, gods are conceived of as transcending the ordinary man. When gods are described as having four or eight or more arms and when demons are described as having ten heads, this cannot be taken as a survival of an earlier condition of man remembered through tradition. We are not concerned with individual cases of incestuous

love. What we are concerned with is only incestuous love as an institution, perhaps not looked upon with approval but only put up with as a fact. We cannot get evidences of individual cases. Is there evidence of the existence of incestuous love as an institution in ancient India ?

Here we cannot forget the tradition of Indian literary criticism according to which the relation of Yamī to Yama is not a representation of Love. *Kāvyaprakāśa* says that love of the nature of union shall not be described in respect of gods (seventh section). Ānandavardhana also says that in respect of gods, only such description of love will shine in dramas as are fit for noble human heroes (third Book). Although these texts are late, the tradition behind them is ancient. Mr. Upadhya himself says that the story of Yama and Yamī must have been represented on the stage (page 178). In so far as the characters were superhuman, the audience could not have understood the story as representing anything real among human society and they could have enjoyed only the allegory in it and not the love sentiment in it. In such matters there is much to be considered and the conclusions are not at all safe.

The work establishes very firmly that the *Ṛgveda* represents a very advanced state of society, where marriage had become a well recognized and regularized institution. The women had their proper place in the society and they enjoyed a fair amount of freedom. They had education and training in arts and they took their share of the burden in public matters. Monogamy was the recognized system ; but polygamy was not unknown. The family life was happy and women formed an important factor in this family life.

This second, enlarged and revised edition of the work is a welcome addition to the literature bearing on Indological studies and I take this opportunity to congratulate the author. Oriental studies have been too much preoccupied with authors and dates, and in the field of the study of Indian thought, it is literature grammar, philosophy and law that have attracted the attention of

scholars. The life of the nation, the real civilization of the people, has not received the same consideration and for this reason, the work has an added interest and importance.

EDITOR

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1. *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London) Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay.

2. *On a Theasarus Linguae Sanskritae*, by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London), reprint from New Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV.

From the stage of publication of Sanskrit texts by lithograph prints and later in ordinary prints with no punctuation and no difference of prose and verse, full of mistakes, without noting variants in readings, with no references and notes and with no indices, we have now come to a stage when editing of works has becoming a complex science. The first book is a great help in guiding students who undertake to edit Sanskrit works. The Introduction gives a survey of Indian manuscripts tradition and in the remaining chapters are dealt with problems about Kinds of Texts, Fundamental aspects of Textual Criticism, Problem of Critical Edition, Causes of Corruption in a Transmitted Text, Emendation, Canons of Textual Criticism and Practical Hints on Editing of Texts. There are three Appendices. The first gives a glossary of important terms used in Textual Criticism. The second is a brief note on the history and progress of cataloguing of Sanskrit and other MSS. in India and Outside (between 1800 and 1941). This is by Mr. P. K. Gode of Poona. The third appendix gives an account of some important manuscripts and critical editions. The book closes with an index. The book will be of great help in guiding editors in their work and we welcome its appearance.

The second book outlines a very ambitious scheme of bringing into a single historical dictionary all the uses in their various significances of all the words in Sanskrit giving occurrences. The

tionaries available are not complete in this respect. There are not even individual indices for the great authors or for individual works. It may be noted in this connection that a start has been made in this direction, so far as Kālidāsa is concerned by preparing a Pada Concordance of Kālidāsa's verses with all variants and also a complete index of words used by Kālidāsa (including the separate members of compounds). This work has been done by the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras. Similar concordances and indices for other authors and works will be a good start for the scheme, which will be a valuable help in the matter of research. We hope that the author himself will take the intiative in getting the work started.

EDITOR

The Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Vol. III, 6-8 Maṇḍalas, 1941. Tilak Maharastra University, Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala (Vedic Research Institute), Poona. Price Rs. 16.

In Vol. II, Part 1 of this *Bulletin*, we had given a fairly lengthy review of the first two volumes of this publication. There we had occasion to say that we would enter into further details at a later stage when the further portions are published. The present volume closely follows the two previous volumes in plan and execution. We offer our congratulations to the promoters of the enterprise for being able to continue the publication in spite of the present difficult times. We will give a full review of the work when entire portion is issued, which we hope will not be delayed very much.

EDITOR

***The Sāṁkhyakārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa*, Edited and translated by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, University of Madras. Third edition, 1942.**

The very fact that a third edition of this book has been called for is proof of the excellence of the work. The edition which contains the text in Devanāgarī script and Roman transliteration with an English translation and exhaustive notes in English, has been worked out with extreme care in the matter of accuracy, fullness and lucidity. The Introduction is very scholarly. There are three tables giving the evolution of Prakṛti according to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, according to S'aivasiddhānta and according to Paramārtha's version of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. There is a fourth table illustrating Pratyayasarga—Creation of the intellect. An appendix gives the verses from the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and variations in readings for these stanzas in other texts, as for example what is adopted by Vācaspati, are also noted in this appendix. There is an index of verses at the end. This is a very useful publication for students of Indian Philosophy, and especially so, for University students.

EDITOR

The Dvaita Philosophy and its Place in the Vedānta, By Vidwan H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., University of Mysore; pp. vii, 282; Price Rs. 3.

In this book which inaugurates the "Studies in Philosophy" series newly started by the Mysore University, Mr. H. N. Raghavendrachar gives a brief account of the philosophic system of Madhva, known as Dvaita Vedānta, and attempts to determine its place among the different schools of Vedānta. It is divided into five chapters; the first of them is a general introduction to the different schools of Vedānta; in the second, an account of the Advaita Vedānta of S'aṅkara is given and the following chapter treats of the Vis'iṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja. The fourth chapter explains the Dvaita system of Madhva. In the concluding chapter an attempt is made to estimate the contribution of Dvaita Vedānta

to Indian thought and to determine thence its place among the schools of Vedānta. This is followed by a glossary of technical terms which will benefit students of Indian philosophy who do not know Sanskrit. There is also an Index at the end. Professor A. R. Wadia has contributed a useful 'Foreword' to the book. The Dvaita system of Madhva happens to be a neglected school of Vedānta. Whatever be the reason for this, this much is certain that few scholars have studied it and the system has not been given the attention it deserves. In view of this fact, the present attempt is to be commended as a welcome addition to the existing literature in Indian Philosophy. Mr. Raghavendrachar is a student of Indian Philosophy under the strict s'āstraic method. An exposition coming from one with his equipment must naturally be reliable and accurate; nevertheless it is difficult to agree with him on certain points of detail. It is not possible in the course of a brief review like this to notice them all, but only the most important of them can now be taken up.

One of the most conspicuous features of this work is the author's view (pp. 10 ff.; 241 ff.) that it is a misnomer to call the Dvaita system *Dualism*, and that its right name is *Monism*. In support of this contention it is pointed out that, like Advaita and Vis'iṣṭādvaita, Dvaita also accepts that *Brahman* is Absolute, and that the system can more appropriately be called *Brahmādvaita*. Like Dvaita, Advaita and Vis'iṣṭādvaita also believe in *Brahman* as the Absolute; and if they also should consequently be called *Brahmādvaita*, how are the systems to be distinguished? Surely, the three are not identical. Acceptance of the supremacy of *Brahman* is a point common to all the three systems; but besides it there are several grounds on which they differ entirely and which distinguish one from the other. While to Advaita everything else except *Brahman* is unreal, to Dvaita, the *Jīva* is as real as *Brahman*, is similar to it, but different from it. And, moreover, these Jīvas are multitudinous in number. On these grounds, Dvaita cannot be described as Monism. Nor is there any

justification in saying that the etymological interpretation of Dvaita by *Dualism* is wrong.

The application of the Hegelian analogy to these three systems of Vedānta is quite inapt and uninteresting. There is no necessity for positing such an analogy at all, and if at all there should be one, it is possible to say with an equal degree of accuracy that Viśiṣṭādvaita forms the *Synthesis* and holds the balance between Dvaita and Advaita which stand in the relation of *Thesis* and *Antithesis*.

At the beginning of his concluding chapter (p. 219) the author states " . . . the term Vedanta is taken to mean the position that is based on teaching of the Veda. For this reason modern writers on Indian Philosophy feel that the Vedanta systems are religious and theological rather than purely philosophical." This is as much as to say that in the Veda it is impossible to find anything like philosophy. The present reviewer is unable to accept this view, for he belongs to the group of those who maintain that the Vedas are quite as much philosophical as the Upaniṣads which have been accepted as the foundation of all later philosophy in India.

These considerations need not detract from the value of the work which, as it stands, is a fine performance, well worth the labour of the author and the patronage of the University of Mysore.

H. G. NARAHARI

OBITUARY NOTICES

SRI HIRENDRANATH DATTA—1866—1942

Vice-President Theosophical Society, 1934—1942

BY J. L. DAVIDGE

NOT only The Theosophical Society, but the Indian world of culture too, suffers a great loss by the passing of Mr. Hirendranath Datta, our honoured and venerable Vice-President, which occurred at his home in Calcutta on the 16th of September. He was in his 77th year, having been born the 17th January 1866 at Calcutta, where he spent the whole of his life, rising to eminence as the senior member of the Calcutta bar, the protagonist of Theosophy through many years of vicissitude, and after Rabindranath Tagore himself the central figure of the cultural movement of the Bengal Art Schools. He was an impressive figure in any company, innately dignified, deeply learned, and giving the appearance of living on the heights, though immediately gracious and attentive when engaged in conversation.

It is impossible to say that his service to The Theosophical Society was greater in one direction than in another, though his immense legal knowledge has been an incalculable gift during the Presidential tenures of both Dr. Besant and Dr. Arundale over a period of many years, both to The Society and to the Indian Section.

The Vice-President joined The Society on the 14th January 1894, and was thus a member of not quite fifty years' standing. Since 1909 he was a member of the General Council. In 1934 Dr. Arundale on his election as President nominated

Mr. Hirendranath Datta as Vice-President, and the General Council on December 25 approved the nomination. On 6 June 1941 he was renominated as Vice-President and the nomination was confirmed by the General Council in December of that year.

Mr. Datta invariably attended with Mrs. Datta the Annual Conventions in India. He was present at the first Convention of the Indian Section in 1896, and practically every Section Convention since, as well as every International Convention held at Adyar or Benares; he visited Adyar for the first time in 1903; in 1930 he delivered an important discourse on "The Future of The Theosophical Society," and since 1933 he addressed Convention year after year, his lectures being among the most memorable of the Convention series.

Mr. Datta was one of Dr. Besant's intimate friends and counsellors. She often stayed in his house in Calcutta, and she always associated him with her Theosophical activities. He was, for example, one of the foundation members of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and was on its Board of Trustees. As a founding member of the National Council of Education, Bengal, he held for many years the office of Secretary, and was later one of its Vice-Presidents.

There was hardly a cultural movement in Bengal in which he was not deeply interested. As a lifelong friend of Rabindranath Tagore he saw influential in the counsels of Vishvabharati at Shantiniketan, being Vice-President and trustee, and he was associated with one of the most important technical colleges in Bengal with 650 students. Furthermore, he was for some years President of the Bengal Academy of Literature, the premier literary society in Bengal.

The summation of this cultural phase of his activity was the *Kamala Lectures*[1] which he delivered before the

[1] It is of melancholy interest to note that a review of these lectures was included in the present issue of the *Bulletin* only a few weeks before the demise of then author.—ED.

Calcutta University in 1940, and which the University published under the title of *Indian Culture.* The book shows not only great erudition and beauty of form, but a profound knowledge of world movements in their deeper spiritual aspects and inter-relationships. The Vice-President foresees that Indian culture will transform the coming civilization. It is, moreover, a source of never-ending pleasure to find in all his writings, and in his speeches no less, a thorough mastery of English as well as Indian texts.

Among his publications are also "The Philosophy of the Gods" *(Deva Tattva)* and other works on Vedanta and Vaishnavism in Bengali. His Everestian view of the esoteric philosophies is clearly manifest in *Theosophical Gleanings,* published at Adyar in 1938.

The Vice-President's literary work and "very eminent services to Theosophy and The Theosophical Society" won him the Subba Rao Medal, which Dr. Arundale presented to him in a most felicitous speech at the 1941 Convention.

In the same year Mr. Datta accepted the invitation of the President of Kalākṣetra to be a Vice-President, as embodying the eternal culture of India and as a link between North and South. All our Theosophical and educational institutions he helped with open-handed generosity.

In politics the Vice-President was an ardent Nationalist and never lacked courage to show his colours. In the Bengal Partition days from 1905 he was regarded as an extremist, his delicately balanced judgment notwithstanding. His intense love for his Motherland brought him into the Indian National Congress and to the aid of Dr. Besant's Home Rule movement, and his name was amongst the signatories to her Commonwealth of India Bill.

Professionally this many-sided and richly-endowed son of India was the senior partner of Messrs. H. N. Datta and Co., Solicitors of Calcutta, and here it was that his rare legal acumen was placed at the disposal of the Theosophical leaders.

The happy settlement of the long-standing Rishi Valley Trust dispute was based on his advice. Only a few days before he passed over a letter reached Adyar settling a point in law, so that he must have been in full use of his faculties right to the end.

Mrs. Indumati Datta has been a member of The Theosophical Society since 1910. To her and to the members of her family we send through this channel the sympathy of many thousands of Theosophists and reverence for his devoted loyalty, his profound wisdom, and his saintly life.

[Reprinted by kind permission from *The Theosophical Worker*, October 1942.]

DR. A. B. DHRUVA

By the demise of Dr. A. B. Dhruva Sanskṛit scholarship has received a second heavy blow since the passing of Sir Ganganath Jha. His services in the Benares Hindu University as its Pro-Vice-Chancellor for a period of nearly 18 years sum up his achievements in the field of National and University education. In the words of Sri K. M. Munshi Dr. Dhruva was the 'the last of the great race of Brahmins which Gujarat has produced in modern times.'

DR. U. V. SWAMINATHA AIYAR

(1855-1942)

We deeply regret to record the demise of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1855-1942) the greatest Tamil scholar of our time, on 26th April 1942 at the good old age of eighty-seven. He dedicated his life to the resuscitation of ancient Tamil literature. The Tamil renaissance of the present times is largely the result of his dedicated life.

Printed and published by C. Subbarayudu at the Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras.

॥ श्रीशंकरगुरुकुलपत्रिका ॥

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

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THE MANAGER,

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SRIRANGAM

THE PATH OF GREATNESS

A Convocation Address to the New Graduates of a University

BY GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

MY hearty congratulations to you all on having taken a further step on life's pathway, which is what the word "graduation" ultimately implies. Graduation means at once accomplishment and opportunity, completion and creating, death and regeneration, a looking back and a looking forward. Completing your matriculation, you entered into the field of graduation, fulfilling your efforts of the stage before, dying from the field of matriculation into the field of graduation. Completing your graduation, you enter into what field? Fulfilling the field of graduation, dying from it as you are dying today (I deliberately use the word, to give its true association with that renewal of life it implies), into what field are you being born?

It is the answer to these two questions which is the subject of my address, for I want you to realise that you are treading, consciously or unconsciously according to your stage of evolution, a very definite pathway of life, on which every stage through which you may have passed in your individual lives is a step—short or long according to its nature. It may be a step backwards or it may be a step forwards, but there is no standing still, for the dominant

characteristics of this pathway are movement and choice. We are continually moving. We are continually choosing. Every movement is a step of some kind. Every choice is a step of some kind. We may call this movement-choice by the name of consciousness, and the heart of it in the human kingdom is conscience.

This great pathway of life began nowhere and ends nowhere, so far as we can know. It is *anādi*. Fortunately, however, we do know something of the characteristics which mark and distinguish the varying stages of its being. More or less, we know the nature of the pathway in its mineral stage. More or less, we know the nature of the pathway in its vegetable and animal stages. And of the human stage there is also much knowledge. Indeed, this knowledge lies about us. We see our fellow-denizens of the human kingdom at very obviously varying stages of evolution, and we are able to deduce therefrom certain definite landmarks in the progress of life through the human kingdom, such, for example, as Mr. Jinarājadāsa has made in his *First Principles of Theosophy* : The Savage—*I want it* ; the Civilised Man—*Let us share it* ; the Spiritual Man—*I will help you* ; the Disciple—*In His Name* ; the Superhuman Man—*Not I but the Father.* Or, as I like sometimes to put it : Self-Discovery, Self-Expression, Self-Sacrifice, Self-Surrender, Self-Realisation.

Graduation in Self-Sacrifice

But I can hear you saying to yourselves : Quite so, this may be all very true, but will he tell us where *we* are, at what *stage* we are, so that we may know both how far we have come and what we have to do next. Well, I purpose to be so bold as to tell you where you are, and what you have to do next, but in general terms, of course. And in order to make

clear the nature of my answer, let me ask you a question which I will straightway answer for you, for I know what the answer must be. Why did you join a National University at all? In the answer to this question lies my answer to yours. You joined a National University in the spirit of Self-Sacrifice. You were well aware that its degrees are not yet recognised. You were well aware that the taking of a National University degree might be of little help in achieving that material prosperity for which the degrees of ordinary universities are desired. You were well aware that, from the conventional standpoint, you might by no means be improving your worldly prospects. And yet you joined, not even now regretting the choice you made, at least I pray not. Why did you join? Because you wanted to live greatly and not narrowly. You wanted to live for others, for your country, perhaps for the world, and not for yourselves. You did not want to amass material wealth, rather did you want to amass good thoughts, good feelings, good speech, good deeds. And you came, therefore, to a place which stands for all these things, which stands for Mr. Jinarājadāsa's "I will help you," for my "Self-Sacrifice," and, perhaps, for a stage still further beyond these. You matriculated into Self-Sacrifice, and I hope you have been learning its lessons, whether under the name of science or mathematics or literature or classics or the arts. The spirit of Self-Sacrifice is the root of your natures. You are at this stage of life's pathway. So is a National University. Hence like attracted like. And now you have graduated. Graduated in what? In the science of Self-Sacrifice, in theory to a certain extent, and in practice to a certain extent too, I profoundly hope. I wonder how far you have co-ordinated the facts you have acquired, the understanding in part of God's Laws that you have achieved, be the subjects of your studies

what they may, with the spirit which has been at the back of the acquirement and of the achievement. I wonder, in other words, to what extent you have related your studies to Service, which is another word for Self-Sacrifice. Your studies will doubtless help you to a living; but are they helping you to life? You have finished with living, as an end. It is for you but the means to the end of life. And with you, life today means Service, Self-Sacrifice; as, after many days, it shall mean Self-Surrender and Self-Realisation.

No. I am not forgetting that it is impossible to be at the highest levels all the time, I am not forgetting that from time to time, while members of our University, you may have allowed your lower minds to question the wisdom of having joined. I am not forgetting that in the near future, when you find your way to living more barred than you had, perhaps, imagined, and when you come up against the fact that most people live for living rather than for life, you may be influenced by your surroundings, and may experience such reaction back into an earlier stage as is quite in the order of things, after a comparatively prolonged immersion in a stream of life purer than the ordinary. When you are "up against it," if I may use the colloquialism, reinforced by the possible doubtings of your friends and relatives, you may yourselves pass through one of those periods of doubting loneliness which come to all who are in advance of their times, and wish you had gone where living counts more than life, though I am bound to say that it is a pretty poor living that even the ordinary university leads to, when all is said and done.

Is it too much to ask you to try at such a time to remember that living *is* but to the end of entry into life, that you—the real you—want life, and that no amount of living will make

up for a lack of life, certainly not in the long run, and with most of you, I hope, not in the short run either?

The Company of the Great

You belong, my young friends, to the company of the great, as we do too, we who have been your teachers. We may none of us, or few of us, be great, but our lot is greatness, to become as the great were, are, and always shall be. We are of the pioneers. We are of the advance-guard of the great army of humanity. We go before to make its paths straight. We beckon to those who are at stages behind us. Our watchwords are Brotherhood and Service. We control our bodies that our souls may be free. We deny ourselves the non-essential that we may be free to express the essential. Our standard is the standard of the great, not the standard of the conventional, of the orthodox, of the world. We belong to the future. We have outlived the past and the present. We but use them for the future's purposes. We use the present and desire the future. We are for cooperation, goodwill, tolerance, not for competition or for pride. We are for self-sacrifice, not for self-seeking. We seek the SELF, not the self. For we know, do you and I, even though from time to time the knowledge may be veiled from us, that *our* happiness lies in that search alone, and that all other happiness is but fleeting ease thus masquerading, keeping us the slaves of time when we would be the servants of Eternity.

How wonderful it is to be near to the great, and, perchance, to feel stirring within us the intimations of greatness.

How wonderful to feel that we have some vague consciousness, perhaps inexpressible in words, of what that larger life, which is greatness, both is and involves. What is greatness? Ah! It is difficult to define greatness when we ourselves

have yet to become great. How can the less define the more? But if I may venture a suggestion it is that greatness consists in the ideal laying definite hands on the present, nothing short of this gaining for any man or woman, in my judgment, a title to be called truly great. Greatness of place, greatness of power, greatness of wealth, are at the most but greatness in terms of time. You and I live less in time than in Eternity. Hence we must define greatness in terms of Eternity, and only ideals are eternal. Eternal life means ideal living. Eternity must with you and me lay hold of time and transmute it. So do I suggest that true greatness means the ideal laying definite hands on the present, transmuting it from what it is to what it shall be, from Self-Discovery to Self-Expression, from Self-Expression to Self-Sacrifice, from Self-Sacrifice to Self-Surrender, from Self-Surrender to Self-Realisation. And greatness varies. The Savage is great when instead of *I want it* he says—*Let us share it.* The Civilised Man is great when he says—*I will help you.* The Spiritual Man is great when he says—*In His Name.* The Disciple is great when he can say—*Not I but the Father.* And I would even go so far as to say that each may be great even when he fulfils his own world's message—the savage when he wants much and gets much; the civilised man when he shares to the utmost of his power: the spiritual man when he helps to his utmost; the disciple when he does all in His Name.

Are we not, we who are members of this University, of the Order of Helpers? Shall not our greatness consist in helping to our uttermost, be the obstacles and difficulties what they may? Our greatness surely lies in the growing fulfilment of Self-Sacrifice, and I now put it to you that this very graduation which we are celebrating this afternoon is, in fact, the opening of the door which leads to the practice of Sacrifice, to

its fulfilment, to the end that matriculating today as you are in the field of the fulfilment of Sacrifice, you may some day graduate in it, and thence matriculate in the field of the fulfilment of Self-Surrender. While studying in this University you should have been laying the foundations of the science of Sacrifice through the accumulation of facts, all of them, I pray you believe, relating to the great Sacrifice of God Himself. Mathematics teaches us, tells us, bears witness to us, of His Sacrifice. So should it show us the road to ours, as to those at lower stages it may show the road to self-seeking, itself, in verity, in its own place, but an aspect of Self-Sacrifice, a phase. Science teaches us, bears witness to us, of His Sacrifice. So should it show us the road to ours. So is it with Literature, and the Arts, and all other branches of knowledge. We may treat them from their lower aspects, or from their higher. We may treat them as bodies, or as souls with bodies. Every fact is God at work, use we it to our ends or to God's. So, fellow-graduates, remember that if you are Bachelors of Science, you are, or must become, Bachelors of God's Science; if you are Bachelors of Arts, you are, or must become, Bachelors of God's Arts; and that you have to use your knowledge and your skill to God's ends, not to man's.

Fire-Pillars in the Dark

Thank God there are Great Men to point out to us the road of greatness, to the ends of God, or we might sadly stumble, be we ever so learned, ever so brilliant at the examinations. And by Great Men I mean here the greater Great, not the great of lesser degree or graduation. I mean those Men whom Carlyle so admirably describes as "the fire-pillars in this dark pilgrimage of mankind," who

"stand as heavenly signs, ever-living witnesses of what has been, prophetic tokens of what may still be, the revealed, embodied possibilities of human nature." These are the greater Heroes, the greater Geniuses, the greater Saints and Martyrs, the embodied goals of the three great Paths of Greatness—Karma, Gñāna, Bhakti—described to us in *The Bhagavad Gītā* on one or other of which Paths you and I are treading our respective ways to the common goal.

Thank God, I say:

> ....for the high souls
> That point to us the deathless goals;
> For all the courage of their cry
> That echoes down from sky to sky;
> Thanksgiving for the armed seers
> And heroes called to mortal years,
> Souls that have built our faith in man,
> And lit the ages as they ran.

And note, please, that the faith insisted on in this beautiful little poem by an unknown author is faith in man, belief in man, not faith in God, belief in God. I take it that true greatness is supremely a matter of faith in man, that faith in man is all God asks from us. He does not ask from us faith in Himself except as we see Him in the perceived certainty that man shall attain the goal of life. Charles Bradlaugh was one of the greater Great Men because of his very faith in man. God patiently waits for Charles Bradlaugh's belief in Him, for it can be but a matter of a brief span of time for Bradlaugh to know that in his very faith in man, he has been showing a most supreme trust, faith, belief, in God. Belief in God may be selfish, but belief in man can never be. So let us believe in man, and in our and His own due time, God will reveal Himself to us, however little we may have the revelation

today. The National University is founded on a belief in man, because, it is true, of its founders' belief in God. But if you have learned here to believe in man, and can go on believing in him, keeping your head, now poised to service, still so poised even when all about you

> Are losing theirs and blaming it on you ;
> ....when all men doubt you,
> Making allowance for their doubting too
> ....
> Or, being lied about, don't deal in lies,
> Or, being hated, don't give way to hating,
> And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise ;

and if you can follow the rest of that fine advice of Kipling, so beautifully expressed in " If," then are you surely treading the road of Greatness, come your title to greatness now or after still a while.

I do not want to minimise the difficulties of the task to which we of this University and all it stands for have set ourselves, urged by the God within us. Do not say to yourselves : I thought it would be easy going, and I now find myself harder pressed than my fellows. Rather say : It is a hard road, but I was out for a hard road. I came to this University, not to find ease but to find peace. I am going the short cut up the mountain side, and every obstacle in my way is but sign of the approaching vision of the Sun of God's Eternal Majesty, shining at last undimmed by the clouds of time. As Seneca said : " Great men often rejoice at crosses of fortune, just as brave soldiers do at wars " ; and the greatest in the world will tell you they have won far more from their so-called defeats than from their so-called victories. I forget who said that sorrow consecrates.

Sorrows you will have, perhaps in greater measure than others. But peace will you know, too, in greater measure than

others; and as for the sorrows, remember the beautiful words of Jean Paul:

> Great souls attract great sorrows as mountains do storms. But the thunder-clouds break upon them, and they form a shelter for the plains around.

"Courage is the Thing"

And it may also be worth while to remember what Edward Carpenter said about pain in *Towards Democracy*, that "every pain that I suffered in one body became a power that I wielded in the next." Above all, if you are, to quote "If" again, to

> ....meet with triumph or disaster
> And treat those two impostors just the same,

noting, please, the words "two impostors," and drawing the conclusion that it is not the so-called triumph or disaster that is of moment, but rather the motive and the attitude which called to action; you must have in fullest measure that quality of COURAGE which was once the theme of Sir James Barrie's Rectorial Address to the students of S. Andrews University, in the course of which he said that "to gain courage is what you come to S. Andrews for." To gain courage is what you have come to the National University for. Your professors are supposed to be men and women of courage. Your surroundings are exemplifications of courage. Your studies are to a large extent intended to infuse into you the courage spirit. And your stay here is as a vigil to assimilate courage before you enter the battlefield of life. You should have become today knights of courage, though we call the ceremony a graduation: the two ideas ought in essence to be synonymous. Sir James Barrie calls courage the staff on life's journey, and said in his Address: "You must excuse me if I talk a good deal about courage to you today. There is nothing else much worth

speaking about to undergraduates or graduates or white-haired men and women. It is the lovely virtue—the rib of Himself that God sent down to His children." Often, when giving lectures to my students in this very University, to students who have been preparing to become teachers, I have pointed out, with all the emphasis at my command, that the supreme gift from teacher to taught is the evocation from the latter of this all-conquering virtue. It is not the failure that matters, but the despair. It is not the sin even that matters so much as the continuance in sin from weakness to rise out of it. Listen to the pregnant words of that great Spanish Mystic, de Molinos, on this very point :

> Would not he be a fool who, going out to tilt with others, and falling in the midst of the course, should lie weeping on the ground, afflicting himself with reasonings about his fall ? "Man," they would say, "lose no time, get up and take the contest again ; for he that rises again quickly, and continues his race, is as if he had never fallen."

Of such, indeed, is the Kingdom of Heaven. I do most earnestly trust that as you fail from time to time, as you fall by the wayside, as depression overtakes you, as you periodically lose confidence in yourselves, as life's difficulties now and again become too much for you, as loneliness grips you, as sorrows and illnesses and other debts arise for payment, you will remember your courage. And to help you in your dark hours, I would venture to recommend that wonderful book by Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which, in Uncle Tom, you have the example of a truly great man up against everything, but with a supreme courage born, in his case, of a faith beyond words in his Master, Jesus the Christ. He had little or no education. He lived a slave in the worst conceivable surroundings. He was torn from his family and friends. His poor body suffered the most terrible tortures. His

troubles were indeed greater than any you and I are likely to have to undergo and endure. Yet he was faithful to the end, even unto death, and he might well have uttered those inspiring words of Hans Denck, the Bavarian Mystic :

> I am heartily well content that all shame and disgrace should fall on my face, if it is for the truth. It was when I began to love God that I got the disfavour of men.

Splendours of Greatness

It was truly when Uncle Tom began to live the Christian life that he got the disfavour of men, and it must happen to us all, sooner or later according to our strength, that when we cease mere living and strive to enter into life, God may test the sincerity of our conversion by surrounding us with the disfavour of men. Are we looking for the favour of men without, or for the approval of the God within ? If you and I, whose very membership of this University is a sign that we are eager to tread the Path of Greatness, still remain satisfied with the standards of the ordinary world, if we are satisfied to adapt ourselves to the conventions and orthodoxies of our surroundings, then are we in very truth of the world worldly, and our membership of the National University is but a lost opportunity. We must not be content to go round with the world "in an eddy of purposeless dust." We are here to learn to make the onward and forward movement, relying on the God within in ever-increasing measure, trusting ever to His Judgment against the importunities and exhortations of those who cannot even guide their own lives aright. And remember that it is not your task or mine to retire to the jungle far away from the problems of the world. We are neither hermits nor recluses, however much from time to time, in the heat and fatigue of the strife, we may long for solitude. I am not for

a moment denying that solitude and seclusion have their advantages. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that we must, at not infrequent intervals, retire within ourselves in search of the God within, "listening to catch His whisper above earth's loudest song." Meditation and prayer are to no small measure the revitalising forces of courage, and I recommend to you that mornings and evenings you should seek, and dwell upon, those realities which form the basis and the purpose of your being. But greatness is our objective, and we must remember the words of Emerson :

> It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion ; it is easy in solitude to live after our own ; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

I draw your special attention to the words "with perfect sweetness," for therein lies the secret, or one of the secrets, of greatness. One is reminded of those words of another great seer, "in all sweet accord." I think Emerson has discovered two of the ingredients of greatness in sweetness and independence, rightly pointing out that they must so be blended that independence may lose its harshness and pride, and that sweetness may gain wisdom and strength.

May I, in this connection, call to your remembrance another apposite utterance of Emerson which we would do well constantly to bear in mind : "That only which we have within, can we see without. If we meet no gods, it is because we harbour none." How often do we find the world grey and cold when it is we ourselves who are in fact grey and cold. How often do we ascribe motives to others of which they have never even dreamed, motives which are in fact of ourselves, and not of them. How often do we judge others by our own small standards, bringing them down in our imagination to

our own levels, down to our own littleness, afraid of that which we cannot understand, striving to measure that which to us is still immeasurable. We have Procrustes beds for all, especially for the great, and more particularly for the great who are near, near either in time or in place. And this sad truth has expression in the proverbs that great men are neither heroes to their valets nor prophets in their own countries, nor often prophets in their own times. Why? Because the valet world is composed of valets, and thinks it dare know no other greater world nearby. Because the country and the time are not composed of prophets but of ordinary people who will recognise no other kind nearby. If you are a stranger you are apart from the lives of your surroundings, and your greatness is a thing apart from their littleness. Your greatness may thus be tolerated, or even appreciated. But if you are of their kith and kin, then your greatness must be restricted lest the natural contrast show up their littleness. So the littleness is a telescope, turned through our ignorance the wrong way round, whereby the big things are made to appear small, and then we call them small.

You and I must "magnify the Lord" in all, so shall we see the God in each; so shall we reverence all, knowing that each has come from God, is living in Him, and is growing to become "the unspotted mirror" of God's power "and the image" of His Goodness and Eternity. Hence may we well say that one way to achieve greatness is to "harbour" godliness within, recognising it without by reason of that very harbouring. If we ourselves are striving, we know that others are striving too. If we mean well, we know that others mean well too. If we have patience, we can see the patience in others. If we are truthful, we perceive with ease the truthfulness in others. And the more we fill

ourselves with virtue the less shall we be able to imagine a weakness in another. There will be no place, in a heart filled with love, for an unkind, uncharitable, still less untrue, thought or feeling about another. He may have many weaknesses, but we shall perceive his strength; for we are of the world of strength and not of the world of weakness. If our world is a great world we shall be strong to lift up the worlds of others to the level of our own. If our world is a little world we shall gauge the worlds of others small, or seek to drag down the greater world, or a denizen of it, that it or he may become like unto ours. Like attracts like. Like seeks to make like. God seeks to make us Gods. What are *we* doing? What shall the mission be from your world, from our world, to that outer world into which you are about to take your own? In some wonderful way you and I know ourselves to be Gods in the becoming, however dimly the spark of God's Fire may be burning in us. We do yearn. We do hope. We do believe. We do seek. We do feel the universal brotherhood. We have a meed of reverence, of love, of compassion. We do strive to understand. Goodwill is the background of our natures and of our lives. Let us then feel also, with all intensity, that as with us, so is it with others in some measure—in greater measure as to some, in equal measure as to some, in less measure, perhaps, as to many. From the first we may draw. With the next we may share. To the last we must give of that which they have not yet expressed, so that the awakened virtue without may knock at the door of the virtue asleep within. I cannot resist quoting Emerson once more in this connection:

> Trust men, and they will be true to you. Treat them greatly and they will show themselves great, though they make an exception in your favour to all their rules of trade.

"Let the Light Shine!"

I wonder whether any of you remember that wonderful play called *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, in which the scene is a sordid boarding-house in a pseudo-respectable part of London, the boarders being ordinary men and women living superficial, artificial, ostentatious lives, concerning themselves with the effect they seek to produce upon their surroundings, yet each one with a fine soul weighed down though it be underneath all the tinsel and dross accumulated above. Into the boarding-house comes a stranger who sees everybody as he really is, who pierces the veil upon veil of māyā, tearing each one to pieces, showing its futility, proving how much more beautiful is the plain unadorned gold than the tinsel and the dross, be they ever so rich. This stranger, the part magnificently played some years ago by Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, comes into daily contact with every boarder, and gravely, sweetly, brushes aside the veneer, doing homage to the real within. I remember the case of the woman who was in the habit of painting herself and disguising her age, though it was not very great, in every possible way, dyeing her hair, wearing absurd dresses, moving in a ridiculous way, talking in affected language. To her the great stranger discloses her own beauty, that real beauty which she thinks has vanished. He speaks to her of the beauty of her soul, and what a pity it is she hides this beauty. So one day she comes down from her room unpainted, as she is, plain to outward appearance, perhaps, but beautiful in the sight of God, for she is herself. And the stranger tells her how beautiful she is, while the world around her, the boarders, look at her derisively, mockingly. But the God without has summoned the God within to assume command of its vehicles, and this plain little woman becomes beautiful as her shining Self glorifies the simple vestures that it wears.

Let us all be as this stranger, taking no account of externals, being neither unduly attracted, nor still less repelled, but knowing that within each piece of ore of form the gold of life lies embedded, however deeply, seeking to release this gold in all, through the fiery furnace of our reverence, our love and our compassion.

While members of this University, you have lived and moved and had your being among ideals, great ideals, I fain would think, as well as among the facts and the relations between them, which are to be for you the hands whereby the ideal shall lay its definite touch upon the present. To adapt the utterance of the great German poet Schiller: Be true to these dreams of your Youth.

You have learned to become votaries of mobility and rhythm. Take care, I pray you, not to be stupefied by the inertia of the world around you, an inertia the more dangerous in that it has a fictitious mobility of its own, graphically described by Thomas à Kempis in the following pithy utterance, clearly showing the difference between true mobility and false:

> For a small income, a long journey is undertaken; for everlasting life, many will scarce once lift a foot from the ground.
>
> The most pitiful reward is sought after; for a single piece of money sometimes there is shameful contention; for a vain matter and slight promise men fear not to toil night and day. But, alas! for an unchangeable good, for an inestimable reward, for the highest honour, and glory without end, they grudge even the least fatigue ....they are found to be more ready to destruction than thou art to life. They rejoice more in vanity than thou dost in the truth.

I apologise to you for the last couple of sentences. I have no doubt they do not at present apply to any of you, but the time may come, as it does to so many of us, when it might apply, and then, if you keep a copy of this address, you

will be reminded of these words, which you will realise as prophetic, and instantly you will be busy about amending your ways.

Be cheered, comrade-pioneers, by the knowledge that you start on your further quest of the Holy Grail with less of handicap than many generations before you have known. The destruction of the old order has not, in your case, obscured the process of construction of the new. The roads are cut up by chaos, but you have hitched your wagons to the Star of Cosmos, and the joltings trouble you but little. You know

> ....that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill
> ....that good shall fall
> At last—far off—at last, to all,
> And every winter change to spring.

Kingship Our Heritage

You are, or should be, kings among men, for you have that well-founded hope which makes Gods of kings, of the kingly, and of meaner men—such as we—kings. You have, or should have, enthusiasm, without which nothing great can ever be achieved. You are young, young-hearted as well as young-bodied, and Goethe tells us we must be young to do great things. You are of the people, and the greatest things in the world have almost always sprung from those of comparatively low estate, not from palaces but from cottages, not from Government decrees but from the people's will. You are pioneers, volunteers, apostles of that service which is perfect freedom. Hence you have less handicap to achieve, for from voluntary effort among the people have sprung, as the Prime Minister of Great Britain said the other day, "all the best things in our country." "You take a movement like the Boy Scouts," he declared, "it did not originate with

the War Office. You take the Salvation Army; it did not come from Canterbury. In the same way, this great movement of education did not take its origin in Whitehall. It sprang from the heart of the people." And I would fain believe that you are of the heart of this great Indian people, and that through you, and through others of India's heart, great things shall come back to your Nation and through your Nation to the world.

And to your further encouragement let me tell you the story of S. Teresa. She was a saintly woman who lived some hundreds of years ago in Europe, poor, but full of enthusiasm. And one day she conceived the idea of establishing an orphanage wherein might dwell little children bereft of fathers or mothers, to be tenderly cared for and wisely trained. But she had only three ducats wherewith to start her work, and those around her said: "How can you possibly hope to do anything with only three ducats?" And Teresa replied: "Teresa alone can do nothing. Teresa and three ducats can do, it is true, but little. But Teresa and three ducats *and God* can accomplish everything."

What are your watchwords? Brotherhood, Service. What is their maintenance? Hope, Courage. What is their expression? Reverence, Goodwill, Compassion. Brotherhood and Service—these are the ideals which are to lay hands on the present, these are the foundations of our future greatness. Of Courage I have already spoken to you. Let me, however, define it further in the words of a great Teacher: ". . . A courageous endurance of personal injustice . . . a brave declaration of principles . . . a valiant defence of those who are unjustly attacked." Display these, and verily are you climbing up the golden stairs which lead to the Temple of Divine Wisdom. What shall I say of Hope, that Hope which, praise be to God, springs eternal in the human breast, be the

obstacles what they may? I must ask you to let me quote two poems which offer us an expression of the heart of hope better than any forms at my own command. They may have little meaning to you just now, if hope surges through your being, as I trust it does. But I am trying to speak to you in words which shall help you in the future even more than in the present, and I know that not infrequently "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and that now and again, when times are hard, there seems little to hope for, and much sad, apparently hopeless, waiting. You leave here with high hopes, but God may send you temporary failure of achievement to test your grip of these very hopes which just now seem so omnipotent. I want you to keep this address so that, when a night of despair comes, you may read these two poems. They have meant very much to me. Here is the first:

Though now thou hast failed and art fallen,
Despair not because of defeat,
Though lost for a while be thy Heaven
And weary of earth be thy feet;
For all will be beauty about thee hereafter
Through sorrowful years,
And lovely the dews for thy chilling
And ruby thy heart-drip of tears.

The eyes, that had gazed from afar
On a beauty that blinded the eyes,
Shall call forth its image for ever,
Its shadow in alien skies.
The heart, that had striven to beat
In the heart of the Mighty too soon,
Shall still of that beauty remember
Some faltering tune.

For thou hast but fallen to gather
The last of the secrets of power;
The beauty that breathes in thy Spirit
Shall shape of thy sorrow a flower,
The pale bud of pity shall open

The bloom of its tenderest rays,
The heart of whose shining is bright
With the light of the Ancient of Days.

And then the second by Arthur Clough :

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars ;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward look, the land is bright.

So much for hope in general. Shall you find might triumphing over right, falsehood and flattery over truth ? You will come across much of this in the days to come, and some of it may hit you personally and hard. At such a time, my words are of the 37th Psalm of the Christian *Bible*, done into verse by J. L. Milligan, and published in the London *Graphic* :

Fret not thyself, O troubled soul,
Because some men of guile succeed ;
Nor envy those who gain control
By cringing wile and crafty deed :
They shall be cut down like the grass,
And as the stubble they shall pass.

Trust thou the promise of the Lord,
Nor in His righteous service tire ;
He will not fail to keep His word,
He shall give thee thy heart's desire ;

Commit thy ways unto His will
And He shall all right dreams fulfil.

God is the final judge of men,
And He shall bring the truth to light;
Go thou thy way in patience then,
And still be true to what is right:
The Lord shall yet thy worth proclaim
And put right's enemies to shame.

Fret not, O tired and troubled soul,
Nor envy men of craft and guile;
Hold thou thine anger in control,
They flourish but a little while;
Yea, thou shalt look for them in vain—
The righteous only shall remain.

And let me end my address on the note that sounds the depths of my own heart, that note of Reverence-Love-Compassion which soon shall come to this stricken world as embodied Harmony, supreme in its beauty and music. My own words seem to fail me once more, and I must again give you language nobler than I can command. But if your heart be forever tuned to this wondrous note of the world's immediate being, if in the clash of discord, of antagonism, of hatred, suspicion, distrust, you can still sound this note and obey its message, turning away wrath with the soft answer, the kind look, entering the abodes of suffering, of misery, of poverty, with the smile of the Lord upon your lips, with His tenderness in your heart, with minds full of His understanding, and bodies alive with the eagerness of His service, then shall you indeed have justified your training here, then indeed shall your University be proud of you, then indeed may it come to pass that those at whose feet you have till recently been sitting shall be proud to sit at yours, for the glory of the Lord shall abide with you and the world shall some day rise up and call you blessed.

"Inasmuch"

The poem I shall read to you, so wonderfully embodying this note, is of a poor cobbler, shoemaker—how many great men has not the trade of shoemaker given to the world?—who was told by his Master that He would pay him a visit on a certain day. And the day's happenings are described, from its beginning when we find the cobbler, Conrad is his name, musing on the wonderful visit about to be vouchsafed to him. The poem is entitled

THE GREAT GUEST COMES

While the cobbler mused, there passed his pane
A beggar drenched by the driving rain;
He called him in from the stony street,
And gave him shoes for his bruised feet.
The beggar went and there came a crone,
Her face with wrinkles of sorrow sown;
A bundle of faggots bound her back,
And she was spent with the wrench and the wrack.
He gave her his loaf and steadied her load,
As she took her way on the weary road.
Then to his door came a little child,
Lost and afraid in the world so wild;
In the big, dark world . . . . Catching it up
He gave it milk in the waiting cup,
And led it home to its mother's arms
Out of the reach of the world's alarms.

The day went down in the crimson west,
And with it the hope of the Blessed Guest.
And Conrad sighed as the world turned gray.
"Why is it, Lord, that Your Feet delay?
Did You forget that this was the day?"
Then soft in the silence a voice he heard:
"Lift up your heart, for I kept my word.
Three times I came to your friendly door:
Three times my shadow was on your floor.
I was the beggar with bruised feet;
I was the woman you gave to eat;
I was the child on the homeless street."

GOD OR NATURE

BY BHIKKHU ARYA ASANGA

Introduction

IN the two previous instalments[1] we have presented principally the practical, ethical side of Spinoza's philosophy, as being in our opinion the most important for the immediate happiness of man and the world. Yet, for a truly stable foundation of his conduct, man cannot entirely forego the metaphysical quest and vision of his place and relation to Nature, the One Existence, or God. It is dealt with in the exact, somewhat punctilious methodical way characteristic of Spinoza, in the first two books of the *Ethica*, the first treating "Of God" or Nature, the second "Of the Mind", or Man. As the most fundamental of the two for an understanding of the Spinozian's whole outlook and attitude towards life, we shall devote the next two instalments principally to the first, the conception of God or Nature.

Though in the first place written, with Theosophical readers in mind, this, like the two preceding chapters, it is believed, will prove of equal importance to the general reader, if not more so. For the belief in an extra-cosmic, supra-natural, personal or impersonal, God, in a creation and a creator, in miracles and a *deus ex machina* or miralce-monger, in a law-giver who is at the same time a law-breaker, is still

[1] See this *Bulletin*, pp. 81-105, 147-171.

more widespread among the general public than may be hoped to be the case in Theosophical circles. Of all the great western thinkers, Spinoza was practically the first, as he was also the last, who in such a daring, absolute way has identified God with Nature, besides which there is nothing else. On this ground there is found in the West no second philosopher like him to rid us of all the vestiges of these imperfect thoughts of bygone ages, as there is in the East no one in this respect, like the Buddha and Lao Tzu.

The present instalment will lay down the fundamentals of this great conceptual principle of Nature as the all-embracing Whole, spiritual and material, being and non-being. The next instalment will deal with some practical and ethical applications of this great Idea.

There is nothing like travel and study to free the mind from limitations and prejudices imposed by environment, education, custom, and other such external things. To those who have lived all their lives amongst believers in God, themselves such believers almost from their first conscious moment, it is hard to realize that there are peoples in other parts of the world—amongst whom the five hundred millions or so of Buddhists—who know nothing of God and of the hopes and fears that go with this belief, who yet are not less happy, nor less good. To most Godfearing men this may seem impossible. They will think that the happiness of these people in earth-life is but an illusion, that cruel disappointment awaits them after death, when seeming goodness will be judged wicked godlessness, and happiness will be replaced by " weeping and gnashing of teeth ".

I cannot gainsay such sombre grave-yard visions, having no actual experience of these after-death states myself, whatever theirs may be. But having lived amongst and been allowed closer communion with such godless people through admittance to their religious order,[1] I can testify from personal knowledge that they are actually no less happy or less good than their godly brethren elsewhere. And judging further from this foundation of fact, I dare say that the much slandered godless Russian, and many a Christian, Muslim, Hindu born, who openly or secretly, consciously or unconsciously, have embraced the godless creed, are faring no whit less well than their more conservative brethren still clinging to the old beliefs.

Nay, better far! For great dangers and impediments to moral progress and happiness are removed from their path. There is the grievous danger of not recognizing one's evil

[1] The Sangha, established by the Buddha twenty-five centuries ago.

passions as exclusively of one's own making, but holding them for God's will on earth, humbly submitted to by his devoted servant. There is the danger of hypocrisy, of hiding one's evil deeds, though consciously known as such, behind an exterior of devotion to God, that at least others may be deceived if not oneself. There are the countless cruelties, done in the name and to the glory of God, crying out with innumerable tongues against that selfsame God, and man who thus created him from his perverted brain.

Of these dangers the godless people are free. They cannot evoke the name of God, or hide themselves behind that name, to justify or cover their evil deeds. They cannot but bear themselves alone the full responsibility for their actions, and thereby stand revealed for what they actually are before their fellow-men. And being at heart a sociable animal, delighting in the praise, and disliking the blame of his fellow-creatures, man is by this altered position greatly encouraged to walk the way of good rather than the way of evil.

In any case, from personal experience I can bear witness to the Mahatma's statement that "the idea of God is not an innate but an acquired notion".[1] We do not need it, and are better without it. And with proper treatment we can rid ourselves of it, so that we may be free. Try it out, everybody, think it out, and live it out in daily life. Gone is the wavering between hope and fear, ever connected with the idea of God, gone is the leaning upon an external power, upon Holy Scripture, or priestly authority, upon commands or prohibitions, rewards or punishments. A true manliness, yet sweetened with compassion, not by decree or prescript, but because of an inner sense of responsibility, governs all actions. A realization of freedom and obligation and resolve, of the urge

[1] *The Mahatma Letters*, p. 52.

to do good to others rather than harm them, suffuses the whole being.

As an illustration how complete surrender and dependence upon outer authority and decree, divine or human, but especially divine, enslaves the mind, and thwarts its free growth, the reader is referred to a previous article on "Cow-worship and Non-violence".[1] The story there told shows the difference between blind faith in revealed or supernatural religion with its not, half, or mis-understood commandments, and a life on the other hand of fearless independence, self-thinking, and self-responsibility, without God or Devil to hope for or to fear for, a life of seeking and doing good for its own sake, by the light of one's natural mental faculties, and one's preferment of reason rather than passion, of good rather than evil.

There are amongst the early Theosophical writings no other two which in later times have been so neglected and forgotten as the letters of the Master K.H. "On God". They are the 10th and the 22nd epistle in the well-known collection of *Mahatma Letters*, and they are of signal importance. Before entering upon a discussion of their contents, however, a matter of chronology must first be settled. The present dates assigned to these letters are inaccurate. Their true chronological order is the reverse from that in which they are admitted to the collection.

The reference in No. 10 to an article in *The Theosophist* of September 1882, as well as the note subjoined at the end, "Copied out Simla, Sept. 28, 1882", fix its date to a nicety, say the second half of that month. Further, by another reference in the same document to an earlier communication of "October last", that is of October 1881, no other letter

[1] *The Theosophist*, April 1942, p. 55.

can be meant than No. 22. For, the allusion in No. 10 to the "one solitary admission *made, simply for argument's sake*", that the Masters' "knowledge was limited to this our solar system", fits in exactly with the phrase in No. 22, "*If* our greatest Adepts and Bodhisattvas have never penetrated themselves beyond our solar system," etc. The date is further clinched by the allusion in No. 22 to "my letter upon the Planetary Spirits". This is No. 9, dated July 1881. The master could thus casually refer to that letter, because it was so recent, only three months ago. He could not have done so fifteen months later, which is the wrong date assigned to the 22nd letter.[1]

The sequence of events must have been as follows. After he had received the Master's earlier letter, No. 22, A. O. Hume, to whom both letters were addressed, wrote his "Preliminary Chapter on God", drawing apparently false conclusions from the Adept's hints, or else deliberately interpreting or adapting them to his own views. This gave the Master occasion to restate his ideas in the "Notes" of No. 10. However this may be, there is no doubt that the two letters belong together. They amplify and further explain each other, and should therefore be read and studied side by side.[2]

Reduced to shortest terms, the contents of the letters give an emphatic and passionate denial of God. "Neither our philosophy nor [we] ourselves believe in a God," the Adept writes, and adds with even greater stress: "We deny God, both as philosophers and as Buddhists. We know there is in our [solar] system no such thing as God, either personal

[1] The mistake is A. P. Sinnett's, left uncorrected by the editor.

[2] Both letters are but "abridged" versions, or "extracts" from the originals. They are also found in C. Jinarajadasa's collection, *The Early Teachings of the Masters*, pp. 193-218, 232-7. I further suggest that the words "seized up" in No. 22 (ML 137) should be "sized up."

or impersonal. The Absolute is not a God, but absolute immutable law, and the Lord God is the effect of ignorance based upon the great delusion.[1] The word 'God' was invented to designate the unknown cause of those effects which man has either admired or dreaded without understanding them, and since we claim the knowledge of that cause, we are in a position to maintain, there is no God or Gods behind those effects."[2] Compare the first clause of the last sentence with Spinoza's words that open the chapter "On Miracles" in one of his treatises: "Just as men are wont to call such knowledge divine as surpasses human understanding, so also those works are held to be divine, or to be God's works, the causes of which are unknown to the vulgar."[3]

Now, considering the important place God has since assumed in our Theosophical literature, was it too much to say that these letters have been greatly neglected and all but forgotten? Because of what happened in later years, they had to be kept out of sight, could not be acknowledged, not mentioned, still less discussed, their touch dreaded as dangerous, heterodox, contaminating with the spirit of godlessness, shameful, evil, dark. Whereas in truth they are most enlightening, broadening, liberating to the mind, driving away the cobwebs of superstition, supernaturalism, miraculism, if I may be permitted the freedom of this word.[4] Says Spinoza in another place: "Miracles and ignorance, I hold to be equivalents, because those who try to base God's existence and Religion upon miracles, wish to prove an obscure thing by

[1] In the above I have replaced the Sanskrit terms by English equivalents. Parabrahma = The Absolute, Īshvara = The Lord God, Avidyā = Ignorance, Māyā = Delusion.

[2] ML 52.

[3] TP 81.

[4] It is not in the dictionary, but "miraculist" is.

another still more obscure, and of which they are utterly ignorant, and so they advance a new kind of argument, namely a reduction, not to the impossible, as they say, but to ignorance." [1]

To lift the veil of ignorance, by raising the ban of secrecy from off the Mahatma's letters, to draw them out into the fresh light of day for open discussion, is the main purpose of this paper.

Yet the charge of neglect and forgetfulness is perhaps too sweeping. A distinction should be made between the offense against the letter, and against the spirit of the Master's exhortation, the former naturally being the lesser, if not altogether a clerical error only. Fortunately the later zeal for "God" is principally of the latter kind. The distinction here called for is that between the "word" and the "idea" of God. It is made by the Adept himself. His blunt denial is not aimed at God *per se*, leaving nothing, emptiness, a meaningless void. This would indeed be the opposite of what is expected from a Teacher. Instead of guiding the disciple to truth, it would lead him into the blind alley of untruth, for "Nothing" can never be truth, being the negation of everything, truth included. The Adept's denial is directed against the popular, unphilosophic, dogmatic idea of God, more particularly against "the God of the Theologians". This false idea, however, once discarded, leaves not nothing, but room for the true concept of the "One Life Immutable Unconscious Eternal." [2]

The question is not whether that "One Life" exists, but whether we can still retain the old word "God" for this new concept. We could of course, as a mere technical term. We

[1] 75 Ep 313.
[2] ML 53.

could in fact take any word, or name, or term to indicate any idea. But would it be sensible, if two ideas differ so completely, let us say as black and white, to call them both by the same name, and so inevitably raise misunderstandings by imputation of qualities and characteristics to one of the two, which rightly belong to the other, and *vice versa*? The Adept's answer is unequivocal. " If people are willing to accept and to regard as God our One Life immutable and unconscious in its eternity, they may do so, and thus keep to one more *gigantic misnomer*." [1]

The offense then of our later literature and side-activities is definitely this that they have been hanging on by hook and by crook to the " gigantic misnomer ". In how far they have or have not sinned also against the spirit of the new concept, is quite another matter, more difficult to decide, and better left to everybody's own judgment and discretion. It must not be said that we claim inquisitorial rights over the conscience of other people. Our task here will simply be by further defining the Adept's thoughts on God, to at least counterbalance the dangers attached to this " misnomer ". Perhaps we may also be able to wean a few people from using it altogether, by offering a better substitute.

Every name has naturally its limitations which make it inadequate to be a perfectly correct and full expression of that really " absolutely infinite being ", called God. But one name may be more preferable, or less, as the case may be, than another. The strongest objection against the name " God " is its historical association with countless atrocities perpetrated by mankind " In His Name ". To combat these untold miseries, brought upon humanity by itself, the Master summons to his aid all the powers of eloquence at his com-

[1] ML 53. My italics.

command. The elevation and strength of emotion, finding vent in these harangues, has raised them amongst the best written pages of the whole book, has given them a high literary merit, next only to their deep human interest. As our immediate aim is more philosophical than aesthetical, we must leave the student to read these passages for himself, making exception only for one or two short sentences. Because of the Shakespearean ring,[1] which specially distinguishes the first, I cannot resist from quoting them: "Ignorance created Gods and cunning took advantage of opportunity. It is belief in God or gods that makes two-thirds of humanity the slaves of a handful of those who deceive them under the false pretence of saving them".[2] This may suffice as a specimen of the Mahatma's strong sentiments in regard with belief in God and the evils of priestcraft.

But if we have to discard the name of God for reasons of humanitarian sentiment, what other name have we to offer? No better than "Nature"! This answer is really Spinoza's, as it is also the Master's. For, the 10th letter is, in its first part especially, nothing but an exposition of Spinoza's philosophy of God, or if you like, Spinoza's philosophy is a comment on the Adept's letter. For chronological reasons only I stated it first the other way round. In sense and principle the two are practically identical, as shall be fully proved, I hope.

To start with the Master's letter—having made allowance for those who wish to retain the "misnomer", God, the Adept adds: "But then they will have to say with Spinoza that there is not and that we cannot

[1] I mean indeed the "ring" only, and not the "sense". For Shakespeare was of course a Christian Theist. Compare for both ring and sense, the following with the above: "Ignorance is the curse of God, Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven" (2HVI, 4. 2. 178).

[2] ML 58.

conceive any other substance than God, or as that famous and unfortunate philosopher says in his fourteenth proposition, *Praeter Deum neque dari neque concipi potest substantia*—and thus become Pantheists."[1] Consumption killed Spinoza young, when he was not yet fully forty-five, else rack or stake might have been his end. As it was, his books were banned by the authorities and publicly burned, the same year of his death, 1677. He was fortunate in so far as he escaped that fate himself, but unfortunate in the fact that his philosophy escaped the understanding of his age, earning for him only obloquy and slander. Instrumental to this misunderstanding was even that concept of God laid down in the fourteenth proposition of the first part of Spinoza's greatest work, the *Ethica*.[2] Translated into English, this proposition states that "besides (or outside) God no (other) substance can be or can be conceived." And this is the fundamental idea of Pantheism.

The last word is important. A Pantheist! That is apparently what the Master professes to be, as it also denotes what Spinoza actually was. The adept does not wish to be taken for a mere Atheist, however strongly he may deny God, but on the contrary for a believer in God and nothing else but God, keeping for the moment to this "misnomer". There is nothing else but God, in the Master's creed. Everything is God. "All is God"—that is the literal translation

[1] ML 53.

[2] References to the *Ethica* are given by roman numerals to the different parts or books, by arabic numerals to the propositions in each book, further by the following abbreviations: a = axioma, ap = appendix, c = corollarium, d = definiion, pr = preface, s = scholium. Therefore, I 32 c 2, means the 2nd corollary to the 32nd proposition of the 1st book of the *Ethica*. Spinoza's other works are indicated by: GMW = God, Mensch en Welstand, DC = Des Cartes Principia Philosophiae, CM = Cogitata Metaphysica, TP_c= Theologico Politicus, Pol = Politicus IE = Intellectus Emendatio, Ep = Epistolae. The numerals following these abbreviations refer to Spinoza's complete works in the four volume edition of Carl Gebhardt, Heidelberg, 1924.

of the term "pantheism", derived from the Greek words, *pan*=all, and *theos*=god. Only God is, all else—by way of speaking, for there is really nothing else of course—is not. There is nothing, therefore, that is not God. And so I could go on ringing the changes many times on this fundamental idea. But the above may be sufficient for the present.

Pantheism is diametrically opposed to both Theism and Atheism. It is not even correct to say that it includes both. It transcends both. Theism is the belief in God as the Creator of a Universe "outside" or "besides" himself. Here is the Universe, and over there is God, the former being no part of him, at the most a footstool to rest his weary feet upon, tired out by the strenuous labour of creation. The contradiction is evident. Over there is an Infinite Being, here is an equally boundless Universe. Two Infinities, then, two Boundlesses, in one whole of Existence? Can we believe in such an extra-natural, super-natural, mysterious thing? The Adept's answer leaves no doubt: "Who but a Theologian, nursed on mystery and the most absurd supernaturalism, can imagine a self-existent being, of necessity infinite and omnipresent, *outside* the manifested *boundless* Universe? The word infinite is but a negative which excludes the idea of bounds. It is evident that a being, independent and omnipresent cannot be limited by anything which is outside of himself; that there can be nothing exterior to himself—not even vacuum", (or Nothing.[1]) So much of the Theist.

What about the Atheist? He is, as the word implies, the unbeliever in Theism, but not in the whole of it, only in that half which concerns God. He does not generally or directly

[1] ML 53.

deny the existence of the Universe or Nature, but of God alone. And what is his relation to Pantheism? Here also he will not generally or directly deny the truth of the first half of the word, namely that "All is", but only the latter half, its identification with "God."

The important conclusion is therefore that the Pantheist, far from being an Atheist, is a denier of Theism and Atheism alike, both as one-sided and therefore limited notions. But he is an affirmer of a broader, deeper, yet nearer, inner idea of God, which teaches us to see him in every stone, in every plant, in every living creature, or so-called lifeless thing, outside us, as well as in our very own hands and feet, our own tongue and lips, our own head and heart. So much for the Master, now for Spinoza.

Though during his life and for more than a century after his death, in certain circles even now still decried as an infernal Atheist—that "dog of an Atheist," or the "Prince of Atheists"—Spinoza is in truth, just as the Master, neither an Atheist, nor a Theist, but a Pantheist. It was Hegel, the greatest German philosopher of the previous century, who said that Spinoza was the first of Western philosophers to make of this thought the basis of his system. Retaining for the time the word God, as Spinoza himself did, though it be a misnomer, we may in truth say that he was not less "divine" than Plato. His philosophy is as steeped in God, as the sea in salt, as the rose in fragrance, as the sun in light, so that some who learned to know him and his thought better, have rechristened him, as the "God-intoxicated Man."[1] There are other philosophers coming after him, who were more learned, but none who looked deeper into the

[1] *Der Gott-betrunkene Mensch*, Novalis. And such was the opinion of many another German poet and thinker of the romantic-classical period, Lessing, Goethe, Hegel, to name only three.

reality of *Nature*, into the essence of *God*, and saw how these two were not two but one. It was a daring, a revolutionary thought in his time, and after two and a half centuries his vision is still rejected by many in the West as a gross error.

Popular opinion still keeps God and Nature, or the Universe as we have seen the Master call it, in two separate compartments, one in heaven, the other on earth, and it was not different in Spinoza's days. Timidly at first, he writes to a learned correspondent in London, Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, "God cannot be so separated from Nature, as is done by all who are known to me."[1] But bolder and clearly formulated, his new discovery, and original contribution to Western philosophy, appears in an Appendix to a juvenile work. "Nature consists of an infinite number of attributes, each one of which is infinite and perfect in its kind, and to the essence of each of which belongs existence, so that besides (or outside) these, there is no other essence or being, and Nature therefore conforms exactly with the essence of the alone glorious and blessed God."[2]

To Christian readers of the ordinary type, like his London correspondent, such language was a torment. Oldenburg found it literally "excruciating", and he hoped that in future writings Spinoza would "clarify and soften" his words, where he "seemed to speak ambiguously of God and Nature." "Many are of opinion that you have confounded these two," he further writes.[3] Spinoza's reply indeed "clarifies" the crucial difference between him and his contemporaries, but instead of softening, he broadens and hardens the breach by his outspokenness, though superficially he seems to

[1] *Letters*; *Op*. IV, 36.
[2] *Short Treatise*, App.; *Op*. I, 116.
[3] *Letters*; *Op*. IV, 304.

contradict his former identification of God and Nature. His actual words are: "I cherish an opinion about God and Nature far different from that which the modern [*sic*] Christians are wont to defend. Those who think that God and Nature (by which they understand a certain mass of corporeal matter) are one and the same, go the wrong way completely."[1]

It is at first strange to hear Spinoza say so, but a little careful reading and reflection will put things right. To Spinoza's "God or Nature" belong two known attributes, Thought and Extension, or as he quaintly puts it, "God is a thinking thing, as well as an extended thing." The Christian would prefer to speak of Spirit and Matter, and would ascribe Spirit to God alone, and Matter to Nature alone. God for him is pure Spirit, and Nature mere Matter. Spinoza on the other hand held that God or Nature was both, Spirit and Matter, or Mind and Body in one. Therefore he had to repudiate the idea of God's identity with a Nature of "a certain mass and corporeal matter" only, just as he had rejected the conception of God as a mental thing only and not also a material thing. It is further plain that Spinoza's idea of God is larger, fuller, more embracing than the ordinary Christian's, whose Deity is but a bodiless Spirit, or a ghost, as his Nature is but a spiritless body, or a corpse. The Christian's God is for Spinoza only half a God, and his Nature only half a Nature, therefore no real things, just as the obverse and the reverse sides of a coin, one with the "head", the other with the "tail" only, has no real buying power in the market.

Spinoza's final identification of God with Nature was at last placed before the world, in its most uncompromising

[1] *Letters*, *Op*. IV, 307.

form, in the *Ethica*: "That eternal and infinite Being which we call God or Nature."[1]

And the Master? Does he accept Spinoza's alternative name for God as an adequate substitute? He does, in unequivocal terms. We have seen how he quotes Spinoza to prove that nothing exists outside God. Well, a few pages further on, he says exactly the same, only replacing the word God by Nature: "Nature is the great whole outside of which nothing can exist." And we see H.P.B., as a true disciple of the Masters, simply echo the same thought, when she describes how originally in the esoteric science, God *is* Nature, and only later in the exoteric religions, becomes the Creator of a Universe outside him: "Having commenced by being *synonymous with Nature*, 'God' ended by being made its author, the Creator."[2]

And just as Spinoza distinguishes in God or Nature, an attribute of "thought" and an attribute of "extension", so also does the Master split up the one Reality into Life and Matter. God, we read, is on the one hand, "our ONE LIFE immutable and unconscious in its eternity". On the other hand, he tells us: "We believe in MATTER alone, in matter as visible nature and matter in its invisibility, as the invisible omnipresent omnipotent Proteus with its unceasing motion which is its life, and which Nature draws from herself, since she is the great whole outside of which nothing can exist".[3]

Shortly after the publication of Spinoza's *Posthumous Works* in the year of his death, a certain physician, Lambert

[1] *Ethica*, IV, Pref.; *Op*. II, 206.

[2] SD. I, 412. In the original the words, "the Creator" follow immediately after the word "God," but it is clear that the above arrangement of the sentence gives a better sense. "God, the Creator" would not "end" by being made the author of Nature, but "start" as such.

[3] ML 53, 56. The capitals are the Master's own.

van Velthuysen of Utrecht, wrote a treatise against the *Ethica.* From the first part of its title, *On Natural Religion,* we may infer what was the impression Spinoza's philosophical system made upon him, namely that of "Natural" religion as opposed to "Revealed" or "Super-natural" religion, the one obtained by the "natural light" of man's intellect, the other received from the "extra-natural" or "super-natural" glow of divine revelation. The root of the difference is that between Understanding and Faith, of which the latter renounces the former, and thereby lowers man's state to that of brute nature. What can be proclaimed as divine truth only *after* it has been understood as such, is on the contrary declared to be such, *before* it has been understood. The absurdity of such an attitude to truth springs in the eye.

"Most people," says Spinoza, "take as a maxim for the understanding of the Scriptures and the drawing out of their true sense, that they are wholly true and divine. Indeed, even that which they should establish in the last place, after having understood and seriously examined them, they put in the first place as a rule for their interpretation."[1] The fatal mistake of this Faith in revealed Scriptures, as containing divine truth, is of course the "unnatural" reversion of the "natural" order of things, namely that "understanding" should precede before any assertion of truth or untruth can be conscientiously made.

"God or Nature!" What does this "synonymity" mean, if not that religion should be perfectly "natural", that no true religion *can* exist which is *not* perfectly "natural." The identification stands opposed to everything that smacks of the super-natural, the extra-natural, the miraculous, the

[1] *Tract. Theol.*; *Op.*, III, 9.

mysterious. In fact, there is nothing mysterious, nothing miraculous, nothing super-natural in the whole Universe, in the whole of Nature. Neither man's soul, or his subtlest faculties, of feeling, thought, will, emotion, intuition, desire, etc., nor even God himself, are anything but unnatural, or in any sense supernatural, or outside Nature. To repeat the profound saying of the Adept: "Nothing can exist outside the great whole that is Nature." Everything therefore happens according to and obeys the common laws of Nature.

Spinoza is emphatic on this point, and criticizes those who think differently, a criticism which still holds good for many a Theosophical discourse on these and similar matters. For example: "Most people who have written of the emotions and man's conduct in life, seem not to have treated of natural things following the common laws of Nature, but of things lying outside Nature. They seem indeed to conceive man in Nature as a kingdom within a kingdom. For they believe that man rather disturbs than follows Nature's order, and that he has absolute power over his actions which are not determined by any other thing but himself." Even man's so-called "free" will, therefore, is not exempt from "following the common laws of Nature," and is thus not free at all, but determined by Nature or God.

Spinoza's faith in Nature is boundless, as it well might be in the boundless Whole, which is the infinite and eternal God. There has been no second philosopher in the West like him in this respect. Against those who saw imperfections in Nature, "vices, follies, vanities absurdities, monstrosities," he held high his belief in her. "Nothing happens in Nature which can be ascribed to any defect in her. For Nature is always the same and everywhere

her virtue and power to act is one and the same, that is to say, the laws and rules of Nature, according to which all things happen and are changed from one form to another are everywhere and always the same." This immutability of Nature, so unlike man's changeableness of opinion and liability to mistake, makes it possible for us really to know Nature, and to be certain of such knowledge, if only we hold fast to the common laws of Nature. "Therefore the method of understanding the nature of all things whatsoever, must also be one and the same, namely by understanding the universal laws and rules of Nature ".[1]

Nothing supernatural, then, no miracle or mystery, alleged to break the laws of Nature, can be allowed for an explanation of anything that happens in Nature, at least if understanding Nature, and not obscuring her is our aim. The miraculous or the supernatural, is like a veil lowered between our mind and the rest of Nature. So also are commonly our judgments of what is "perfect" or "imperfect" in Nature, or what is "good" or "evil". When the Master says, "Nature is destitute of goodness or malice," it is but an echo of Spinoza's, "Good and evil indicate nothing positive in things, considered in themselves." Such words as perfect and imperfect, good and evil, denote "really only modes of thought", applied to natural objects "rather from prejudice than from true knowledge of them."[2]

Of such prejudices we fall the easier victims as we prefer the term God to Nature. As long as we are bound to the former, we cannot escape, we cannot free ourselves from the theological bias of ages clustering around that word, ascribing to God a personality and personal aims, ends, purposes,

[1] *Eth.*, III, Pref. ; *Op.* II, 137-8.
[2] ML 36. *Eth.* IV, Pref. ; *Op.* II, 208, 206.

motives, plans, providence, rules, laws, punishments, rewards, all which are but the reflections of human faculties and activities. As such God is nothing else than the colossal enlargement of man's puny self, or as the President-Founder, H. S. Olcott, described it, "the gigantic shadow thrown upon the void of space by the imagination of ignorant man."[1] It is not God who has created man "in our image after our likeness," but on the contrary man who has done so with God. And this Spinoza thought to be "the one foundation of much bigotry, and possibly also of many falsehoods."[2]

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[1] Quoted by H. P. B. in *The Secret Doctrine* [1], I, 635, also partly in *The Key to Theosophy* [1], 60, from H. S. O.'s *Buddhist Catechism*, in the editions up to 1887. In the later editions, after the death of H. P. B. (1891)—who shall say under what influence?—the Colonel left this sentence out. In the first adjective we sense a reminiscence from the Master's letter.

[2] *Pri. Phi.*; *Op.* I, 260-1

OBITUARY NOTICES

Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

1857—1942

We deeply regret. to record the demise of Mrs. Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids, on the 26th of June 1942. Her great life-work for Buddhism and Buddhistic cannonical literature was the completion of the Pali Text Society Series since the death of T. W. Rhys Davids over two decades ago. With unfailing energy and often under discouraging conditions she managed the Pali Text Society, as its President. Over 134 volumes have now been published in this series. Her services to Buddhism and Buddhistic studies will live as long as the publications of the Pali Text Society are known to scholars.

Dr. HAR DUTT SHARMA

We record our deep sense of regret to note that Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, Professor of Sanskrit, Hindu College, Delhi and Editor of the *Poona Orientalist* passed away on 10th September 1942. He was a scholar of great promise and his edition of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* has been widely appreciated.

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

ĀTREYA SMṚTI

By A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T.

The dharma s'āstra of Atri is to be found in several versions, as has been pointed out by Professor Kane in his survey of dharma literature.[1] Of the printed versions available to us the *Dharma S'āstra saṅgraha* (1876) edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara is the earliest. This contains three works under the name of Atri.

1. *Laghu-atri-Samhitā*—in six chapters (pp. 1-12).

2. *Atri-samhita*, pp. 13 to 46 (in the same volume) without any division into cantos or chapters, but on a rough calculation running into nearly 400 verses.

3. *Vṛddhātri Samhitā* (pp. 47-59). This consists of five chapters, the fourth chapter having considerable prose passages, on Rahasya prāyas'citta.

4. *Atri Samhitā.*—A code of Dharma in 391 stanzas with Bengali translation as part of the *Ūnavims'atri-Samhitā* (pp. 1-24) Calcutta, 1903.

5. The Dharma S'astra Text, (1908) Vol. I by Manmatha Nath Dutt contains an *Atrisamhitā* (pp. 181-214) with 391 verses.

On comparison it is found that numbers 2, 4 and 5 are identical works.

6. The *Atrisamhitā* (pp. 9 to 27 of the *Smṛtīnām-samuccaya*) in the Ānandās'rama Sanskrit Series (1905) is in 400 verses and is the same as 2, 4 and 5.

7. *Atri-samhitā*, a code in 391 verses—with Hindi translation was published in Calcutta in 1911 along with *Hārita smṛti.* This *Atri samhitā* seems to the same as 2, 4, 5 and 6.

[1] *History of Dharma Sāstra*, Vol. I, sect. 16.

8. The *Atri-Smṛti* (pp. 28-34 in the same place as No. 6) consists of 9 chapters of which chapters 4, 7 and 8 are mainly in prose. The concluding verses of chapter 1 are identical with the concluding verses of the *Vṛddhātreya-smṛti* (chapter 1) mentioned under No. 3.

9 and 10. The *Atri-Smṛti* found in the *litho*-edition of Benares (1872) and in the *Aṣṭādas'a-smṛtayaḥ* published by the Venkateswar Steam Press, Bombay (1923), are identical with Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

That Atri is a very ancient writer needs no further proof than his name being cited with authority by Manu, Yājñavalkya and Āpastamba.[2] The existence of so many versions must partially explain the difficulty in locating all the verses under Atri in the smṛti-digests.

The Adyar Library has a single manuscript copy of the *Ātreya Smṛti* bearing Shelf No. 33. E. 1. It is a palm-leaf manuscript in grantha character and consists of 53 folia. Its size is 18″ by 1 2/5″ and has an injured appearance. Portions of the manuscript have been eaten away in the middle, on one side. The average lines per page ranges between 5 and 7. In this manuscript, besides the *Ātreya Smṛti* the smṛtis of S'ātātapa, Bṛhaspati, Samvarta, Hārīta, Dakṣa and Vyāsa are also found. The *Ātreya Smṛti* begins on folio 45b and continues upto 47a. From the colophon it would appear that the work is complete.

It begins:

Asnātās'ī malam bhuṅkte hyajapī pūyas'oṇitam ।
Ahutāsī kṛmim bhuṅkte hyadāta viṣamas'nute ॥
Caturas'ram brāhmaṇasya trikoṇam kṣatriyasya tu ।
Vais'yasya vartulam caiva s'ūdrasyābhyukṣaṇam tathā ॥

This and the succeeding portions correspond to the fifth chapter of the *Vrddhātrisamhitā* mentioned under No. 3. At the same time a closer examination of the manuscript with the printed version has revealed certain important features, to justify not only

[2] *Āpastamba smṛti*, (p. 5) edited by me in this *Bulletin* commencing from Vol. V, part 3 and running serially.

a separate notice of the manuscript but even to print it as it is. There are several new verses found in this version. Correspondingly some of the verses found in the printed version have also been omitted by the manuscript. A detailed study of all the versions of the dharma literature under the name of Atri is under preparation.

There are four manuscripts of this smṛti in the India Office Catalogue which correspond to our manuscript with the name *Ātreya Smṛti*[3] In No. 1308 the last chapter begins with the same verse as our manuscript *Asnātāśī* etc. All the others begin only with the next verse *Catuṣkoṇam brāhmaṇasya.* No. 1308 of Eggeling has six chapters whereas the *Vṛddhātri samhitā* of Jīvānanda contains only five chapters. It appears that what is found as chapter 5 in No. 1308 of Eggeling is additional matter when considered in relation to the printed version of Jīvānanda.

आत्रेयस्मृतिः

हरिः ओम्

अस्नाताशी मलं भुङ्क्ते ह्यजपी पूयशोणितम् ।
अहुताशी कृमिं भुङ्क्ते ह्यदाता विषमश्नुते ॥ १ ॥
चतुरश्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च ।
वैश्यस्य वर्तु(ल)श्चैव शूद्रस्याभ्युक्षणं तथा ॥ २ ॥
ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च श्रीहुताशन एव च ।
मण्डलान्युपभुञ्जन्ते तस्मात्कुर्वीत मण्डलम् ॥ ३ ॥
यातुधानाः पिशाचाश्च क्रूराश्चैव तु राक्षसाः ।
ह(र)न्ति रसमन्नस्य मण्डलेन विवर्जितम् ॥ ४ ॥
गोमयं मण्डलं कृत्वा भोक्तव्यमिति निश्चितम् ।
यस्त्यक्त्वा भुवि तच्चान्नं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ ५ ॥
[4] भूम्यां पादौ प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो भुङ्क्ते वाग्यतः शुचिः ।

[3] Eggeling, Nos. 1309 to 1312.
[4] Eight lines from here are missing in the printed version edited by Jīvānanda-*Vṛddhātrisamhitā*, mentioned as No. 3 in p. 307.

भोजने भोजने विप्रः त्रिरात्रफलमश्नुते ॥ ६ ॥
आसनारूढपादस्तु ब्राह्मणो यस्तु भुञ्जति ।
मुखेन धमितं चान्नं तुल्यं गोमांसभक्षणे ॥ ७ ॥
आपः पाणिनखाग्रस्था आचामेद्ब्राह्मणो न तु ।
पिबेद्यदि सुरापानमित्येवं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ ८ ॥
घृतं वा यदि वा तैलं ब्राह्मण्या नखनिःसृतम् ।
अभोज्यं तद्द्विजातीनां भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ ९ ॥
[5] हस्तदत्तास्तु ये स्नेहाल्लवणव्यञ्जनानि च ।
दातारं नोपतिष्ठन्ति भोक्ता भुञ्जीत किल्बिषम् ॥ १० ॥
[6] भुक्तोत्तरे यदा विप्रः आर्द्रपाणिस्तु गच्छति ।
लक्ष्मीर्बलं यशस्तेजः आयुष्यं चास्य हीयते ॥ ११ ॥
[7] अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्यान्नं वृषलेन निमन्त्रितम् ।
ब्राह्मणान्नं ददच्छूद्रो शूद्रान्नं ब्राह्मणो ददत् ॥ १२ ॥
उभावेतावभोज्यान्नौ भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।
[8] उच्छिष्टेन तु संस्पृष्टो द्रव्यहस्तः कथञ्चन ॥ १३ ॥
भूमौ निधाय तद्द्रव्यं . . . . . ज शुचिः ।
स्पृशन्ति बिन्दवः पादौ य आचामयतः परान् ॥ १४ ॥
न तैरुच्छिष्टभावः स्यात्तुल्यास्ते भूमिगैः सह ।
[9] शावे शावगृहं गत्वा श्मशाने चान्तरे(थवा) ॥ १५ ॥
. . . . . दूरस्थोप्यशुचिर्भवेत् ।
अतिक्रान्ते दशाहे तु त्रिरात्रमशुचिर्भवेत् ॥ १६ ॥
संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु स्पृष्ट्वा त्वापो विशुद्ध्यति ।
[10] निर्दशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा पु(त्रस्य जन्म च) ॥ १७ ॥

[5] Corresponds to V, 8, *Vṛddhātrisaṃhitā*.
[6] *Ibid*, two lines are omitted.
[7] V, 9ff.
[8] V, 18—19.
[9] Corresponds to V, 27.
[10] *Ibid*, two lines omitted.

सवासा जलमाप्लुत्य शुद्धो भवति मानवः ।
[11] अशुद्धं स्वयमप्यन्यं शुद्धस्तु यदि संस्पृशेत् ॥ १८ ॥
विशुद्ध्यत्युपवासेन भुङ्क्ते कृच्छ्रेण सद्विजः ।
मृण्मयानां च पात्राणां प्रदाहाच्छुद्धिरिष्यते ॥ १९ ॥
स्नेहादिसंप्रयुक्तानां त्याग एव विधीयते ।
[12] जातसूतिकमुत्पन्नं पश्चात्प्रेतस्य सूतके ॥ २० ॥
उभे समं वा जायेत प्रेताहाच्छुद्ध्यते द्विजः ।
सूतके मृतके चैव मृतके चैव सूतके ॥ २१ ॥
तस्मात्संघातशौचे तु मृताशौचेन शुद्ध्यति ।
सूतकाद् द्विगुणं शावं शावाद्द्विगुणमार्तवम् ॥ २२ ॥
आर्तवादद्विगुणं सूतिस्ततोऽपि शवदाहकः ।
अनुगम्येच्छया प्रेतं ज्ञातिमज्ञातिमेव वा ॥ २३ ॥
अज्ञातिः सलिलं स्पृष्ट्वा घृतं प्राश्य विशुद्ध्यति ।
[13] रात्रिं कृत्वा त्रिभागं तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्व एव च ॥ २४ ॥
उत्तरांशः प्रभातेन युज्यते मृतसूतके ।
ऋतुं पश्येत्तु पूर्वन्तु वारे क्रूरे वृणं स्मृतम् ॥ २५ ॥
स्नात्वेन्द्रव्रतमादाय देवताभ्यो निवेदयेत् ।
अपूपं लवणं मुद्गं गुडमिश्रं तथा हविः ॥ २६ ॥
दद्याद्ब्राह्मणपत्नीभ्यो निशिभोजनमेव च ।
चतुर्थेऽहनि कर्तव्या ऋतुशान्तिस्तु यत्नतः ॥ २७ ॥
पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा तु होतव्यं शुद्धिरूच . . ।
[14] ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां शुचिवस्त्रामलङ्कृताम् ॥ २८ ॥
भोजयेद्धुतशेषं तु जपित्वाष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।
ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेच्चैव वाचयेत् स्वस्तिवाचनम् ॥ २९ ॥
ततः(पुत्र)मवाप्नोति तेजस्विनमनामयम् ।

[11] Corresponds to V, 29 ff.
[12] Two lines are omitted.
[13] Corresponds to V, 39.
[14] Four lines are omitted.

विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाल उपस्थिते ॥ ३० ॥
कन्यामृतुमतीं दृष्ट्वा कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ।
स्नापयित्वा तु तां कन्यां तर्पयित्वा हुताश(नम्) ॥ ३१ ॥
(यु)ञ्जानामाहुतिं कृत्वा ततः कर्म प्रवर्तयेत् ।
[15] प्रधानहोमे निर्वृत्ते कुमारी यदि सार्तवा ॥ ३२ ॥
त्रिरात्रेऽपगते पश्चात् शेषकार्यं समापयेत् ।
[16] आर्तवा यदि चण्डाली(मुच्छि)ष्टा संप्रपश्यति ॥ ३३ ॥
आस्नानकालं नाश्नीयात् आसीना वाग्यता बहिः ।
पादकृच्छ्रं ततः कुर्यात् ब्रह्मकूर्चं ततः पिबेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेत दद्यात विप्राणामनुशासनात् ।
ब्राह्मणानां करैर्मुक्तं तोयं शिरसि धारयेत् ॥ ३५ ॥
सर्वतीर्थफलाद्विप्रो विशिष्टक्रतुरुच्यते ।
[17] रजस्वलायां प्रेतायां संस्कारविधिमाचरेत् ॥ ३६ ॥
ऊर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रात्प्रेतायां शवधर्मेण दाहयेत् ।
या मृता सूतिका नारी या मृता च रजस्वला ॥ ३७ ॥
पञ्चगव्यैः पावमान्यैः शवशुद्धिविधिः पुनः ।
रजस्वले च द्वे स्पृष्टे चतुर्वर्णस्य यास्त्रिया ॥ ३८ ॥
अतिकृच्छ्रं चरेत पूर्वं क्रमेण तु विधीयते ।
रजस्वलायां स्नातायां पुनरेव रजस्वला ॥ ३९ ॥
विंशतेर्दिवसादर्वं त्रिरात्रमशुचिर्भवेत् ।
[18] अनाथं ब्राह्मणं प्रेतं यो वहेत दहेत वा ॥ ४० ॥
. . . . पूर्वं लभेत सः ।
अभ्यागतः स्वयं विष्णुरतिथिश्च महेश्वरः ॥ ४१ ॥

[15] One line omitted.
[16] Corresponds to V, 52.
[17] Corresponds to V, 59.
[18] From here चन्द्र सर्यग्र—these verses are not found in the printed version.

वैश्वदेवः स्वयं ब्रह्मा ये तु भुञ्जन्ति ते त्रयः ।
वैश्वदेवान्तिके प्रा . . . . . . पूजयेत् ॥ ४२ ॥
स चण्डालत्वमाप्नोति सद्य एव न संशयः ।
समिद्भारसहस्राणां घृतकुम्भशतानि च ॥ ४३ ॥
अतिथिर्यस्य भग्नाशो तस्य होमो निरर्थकः ।
(कपिला) क्षीरपानेन ब्राह्मण्या गमनेन च ॥ ४४ ॥
शूद्रो वेदाक्षरेणैव निष्कृतिर्नैव विद्यते ।
अङ्गुल्या दन्तकाष्ठश्च प्रत्यक्षलवणं तथा ॥ ४५ ॥
मृत्तिकाभक्षणं चैव तुल्यं गोमांसभक्षणे ।
सप्तम्यां तु यदा भानुः स्वयं भुञ्जीत भास्करः ॥ ४६ ॥
एकविंशत्यमावास्यां तत्तदालभते फलम् ।
उपानहौ यानछत्रं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददाति यः ॥ ४७ ॥
सर्वमश्वरथं प्राप्तः यन्नष्टं तन्नदीयते ।
[19] चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नात्वा दद्यात्स्नात्वा तु मुक्तयोः ॥ ४८ ॥
अमुक्तयोरस्तगयोः दृष्ट्वा स्नात्वा परेऽहनि ।
यस्यैव जन्मनक्षत्रे ग्रसितौ चन्द्रसूर्ययोः ॥ ४९ ॥
व्याधि प्रवासमृत्युश्च दुरितञ्च भवेत्क्षयम् ।
तस्माद्दानञ्च होमं च देवार्चनजपांस्तथा ॥ ५० ॥
कुर्यात्तस्मिन्दिने यत्नं तस्य शान्तिर्भविष्यति ।
[20] सर्वं गङ्गासमं तोयं राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे ।
सोमेप्येवं समं तोयं नद्यां स्नानं समाचरेत् ॥ ५१ ॥

इत्यात्रेय धर्मशास्त्रं संपूर्णम्

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[19] Corresponds to V, 64.
[20] There are three additional lines in the printed version between this and the succeeding line.

VIRŪPĀKṢAYAJVAN: HIS WORKS AND PROBABLE DATE

BY H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

IN the Adyar Library is found the only known MS.[1] of the *Nṛsiṃhavṛttamālā*,[2] a treatise on Sanskrit Metrics which serves also the dual purpose of a prayer to *Nṛsiṃha*, the Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. It bears the Shelf-number XXIII. G. 45 and is noticed on p. 39 a of the Second Part of the Library Catalogue. It is a palm-leaf MS., written in Telugu characters and consists of 41 folia. It is written in a small cursory hand and contains 7 lines in a page on an average. Though complete, such is the heavy damage wrought on it by worms that considerable portions of the text are eaten away.

The full name of its author is *Virūpākṣayajvan* as is evident from its colophons which run:

Iti s'rīmaudgalyarāmacandrādhvarīndranandana virūpākṣayajvakṛta . . . adhikāraḥ. That his father's name is *Maudgalya Rāmacandra* is also clear from this colophonic evidence.

There is a section in the work (foll. 28b-30b) on metres current in the Āndhra country *(Āndhrades'abhāṣāprasiddhamātrāvṛttapaddhatiḥ)*. This is a special feature of the work which is otherwise concerned only with metres in Sanskrit Literature. This fact indicates that the author is an *Āndhra* by birth. The affix *Maudgalya* attached to his name shows that he belongs to that *gotra*. Perhaps it may refer also to the town *Mudgal* in the Hyderabad Presidency, which is known for its famous *Nṛsiṃha* temple.

Virūpākṣayajvan is the author also of a commentary, called *S'āradas'arvarī*, on the *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita. This

[1] I am unable to say whether this work is the same as the *Nṛsiṃhavṛtta* (*Mysore* 291), cited by M. Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 911).

[2] This name occurs at the beginning of the work as well as in many sectional colophons of it. In the concluding colophon, the work is called *Nṛsiṃhavṛttamālikā*; it is also called *Narasiṃhavṛttamālā* (fol. 28b), *Narasiṃharatnamālā* (fol. 15b) and *Nṛsiṃharatnamālā* (foll. 18a, 22a).

commentary has remained till now almost inaccessible for study. In fact, for a long time it was not known that the *S'āradas'arvarī* is a commentary on any work.

Thus, though *Oppert*[3] found an MS. of this work in the Library of *Raghubhaṭṭa* in (S'ri) *Bhaṭṭugosvāmivaṭṭāra*, Tanjore, he was ignorant of its real contents. The MS. of the work as such should have been inaccessible to him when he described[4] the work as a mere '*Kāvya*.' For his knowledge of this work, *Aufrecht* relies only on this MS. of *Oppert* and his description of it, with the result that, in his *CC*. (I. 642a), he calls it also a mere '*Kāvya*' and omits its name entirely in the course of his enumeration[5] of the commentaries on the *Kuvalayānanda*. *Hultzsch*[6] seems to be the first to recognize more or less the real nature of the *S'āradas'arvarī*. In the collection of Jambunāthabhaṭṭa, a Marāṭha Brahmin of Tanjore, he was able to find *two* complete MSS. of this work. One of these (No. 1617) is described[7] by him as a commentary on the *Candrāloka* by *Virūpākṣa*. This MS. contains the simple colophon : *Iti srī virūpākṣakṛtiḥ s'āradas'arvarī saṁpūrṇā.* Nothing more is given about the author in this MS.

A decayed and incomplete MS. (No. 5221)[8] of this work, full of lacunae and obtained from the same source, is in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore. The final colophon of this MS. points out that this *Virūpākṣa* is the son of *Mudgala Rāmacandrādhvarīndra* :

> *Iti s'rī mudgalarāmacandrādhvarīndranandana s'rī virūpākṣakṛtiḥ s'āradas'arvarī saṁpūrṇā.*

This MS. seems to have been copied by *Veṅkatasudhī(-bhaṭṭa)*[9] on Thursday, the first day of the bright-half of the month of *Māgha* in the encyclical year *Vijaya* :

[3] *List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India*, II. 8095.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 474.
[5] *CC.* I. 113a ; II. 22 ff.; III. 25a.
[6] *Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India*, III. 5.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[8] *Descriptive Catalogue*, IX, 4038.
[9] The title page of the MS. seems to contain the inscription *Pustakam idam Veṅkatabhaṭṭasya* (*Ibid.*).

Vijayābde site māghe prathamāyāṁ guroṛ dine |
Vyalikhad veṅkaṭasudhīr enam s'āradas'arvarīm ||

Jambunāthabhaṭṭa's Library contained a fourth MS. also of the same work. This seems to be the best of all the available MSS. of the *S'āradas'arvarī*, at least in the collection of Jambunāthabhaṭṭa. I was able to find this MS. in the Library of the late Pandit Subrahmanya Sastriar of Tanjore, now in the custody of Mr. K. Ramachandra Sarma, a colleague of mine in the Adyar Library, to whom my thanks are due not only for drawing my attention to this MS. with him, but also for having allowed me its use. This MS. is in paper and consists of 58 folia. Written in Devanāgarī in a medium hand, it contains 8 lines in a page; Size, 10½" × 4½". Except for the absence of a few letters on fol. 58a, the MS. can be said to be free from any lacunae. Its colophon is identical with that of the MS. in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, though it is copied by a different person. The scribal note at the end of this MS. runs:

> *S'āke 1780. Kālayuktisaṁvatsaramārgas'īrṣas'ukladas'amyāṁ likhitam idaṁ vis'vanāthavyāsena. Pañcanadīs'ārpaṇam astu.*

The MS. was therefore copied in A.D. 1858 or on the tenth day of the bright-half of the month of *Mārgas'īrṣa* in the encyclical year *Kālayukti* by *Vis'vanāthavyāsa*.

A perusal of this MS. shows that the work is a commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda* rather than on the *Candrāloka*.[10] This is supported by the following verses[11] in the work itself:

Vidyāyāḥ kāraṇam vighnavāraṇaṁ turagānanam |
S'as'āṅkabhṛt padmayonimukhedyantam namāmy aham ||
Ghanāmbhodanirāsena candrālokaprabhodhinīm |
Kurmaḥ kuvalayānandasiddhyai s'āradas'arvarīm ||
Kurvanti svaccham antar jaḍam api ca ghanāmbhoda vārtām haranti

[10] Hultzsch, *loc. cit.*; Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, *loc. cit.* The only defence for this view seems to be that the *Kuvalayānanda* of *Appayya Dīkṣita* is no more than an adaptation of the *Candrāloka*.

[11] My MS. (*foll.* 1 b, 58a).

Candrālokaprabodhiny akhilakuvalayānandasandhāna-s'īlā |
Sankalpāt sakalā (bhṛtkṛ)[12] tapadas'irasas' s'rīvirūpāk-ṣanāmnaḥ
Prādurbhūtaprakās'ā jagati vijayatām s'āradī s'ar-varīyam ||

On fol. 8 of this MS. of the *S'āradas'arvarī*, the author cites verse from his *S'aṅkaravijaya* in illustration of the *samasta-rūpaka*. The passage in question runs :

Idam vyastarūpakam. Samastarūpakam yathā madīye S'aṅkaravijaye—
Salilārdrasuṣūkṣmakañcukī vivṛtottuṅgakucābjakos'ayoh |
Patitaṁ sa mano madhuvrataṁ punar āhartum alaṁ na subhruvām ||

We have thus *S'aṅkaravijaya* as the name of another work of *Virūpākṣa*. I have not been able to discover any MS. of this work. It is not known to Aufrecht. Nor am I able to see any reference to it in any of the available Catalogues.

The information that is so far available about *Virūpākṣayajvan* is not sufficient to be of help in determining his date with any degree of accuracy. The citations in his works are usually from ancient writers and works like Kālidāsa, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Māgha, Mahānāṭaka, Ratnāvalī and the Gītagovinda. These are of no help, because the fact that he lived later than the 16th cent. A.D. needs no proof. That his *S'āradas'arvarī* is a commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita (1550 A.D.)[13] should give 1600 A.D. at least as his *terminus a quo*. One of the MSS. of the *S'āradas'arvarī* was copied, as stated already[14], in A.D. 1858 ; this phenomenon should give 1800 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem*. The date of *Virūpākṣayajvan* can thus lie between the two broad limits, A.D. 1600 and A.D. 1800.

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[12] Both my MS. as well as *Tanjore* 5221 have *lacunae* here. I fill up the gap with the help of *Hultzsch* 1617.

[13] S. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 418.

[14] *Supra*, p. 316.

REVIEWS

(1) *Paramārthacintāmaṇi* by Y. Subrahmaṇya S'arma: Adhyātmaprakās'a Office, Holenarasipur, Mysore State, 1941; pp. xxiv, 271; Price Rs. 2-12-0.

(2) *Upaniṣattugaḷa Modalane Paricaya* by Y. Subrahmaṇya S'arma; Adhyātmaprakāsa Office, Holenarasipur, Mysore State, 1941; pp. vi, 54: Price not stated.

For many a popular exposition of Advaita in Kannada, English and Sanskrit, the name of Mr. Y. Subrahmaṇya S'arma is well-known to the world of Indian Philosophy. The two Kannada books under review only add to the stock of his useful contributions.

In the first of these he attempts to enunciate what he calls a new theory of metaphysics, quite his own. It is based on no Sanskrit original, but derives nevertheless support from the Upaniṣads and the many commentaries thereon. The book is divided into six chapters; in the first chapter, the different systems of Indian Philosophy are analysed, their limitations pointed out, and the view maintained that it is only the Vedānta system that is of real help in the quest after *Paramārtha*; in the second is elaborated what the author calls the *Avasthātraya* method in arriving at *Paramārtha*; in the three succeeding chapters, the fundamental nature of *Ātman* which distinguishes it from *Anātman*, is discussed, and special emphasis is laid on the three aspects of *Ātman*, *viz.*, *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*. In the concluding chapter, the author sums up his position stating that the *Avasthātraya* method is the only means at arriving at *Paramārtha*, and that the Vedānta system which propounds this method is only the culmination of the wisdom of the Upaniṣads.

The key-note of the book, briefly put, is that the highest truth (*Paramārtha*) consists in the knowledge of the immutability of the Soul in its several states (p. 13), and, to attain this knowledge, one has to examine with care the three states of the Soul, wakeful (*jāgrat*), dreaming (*svapna*) and sleeping (*suṣupti*). A conclusion like this cannot fail to fall ajar in the ears of any student of philosophy, for it has the merit neither of novelty nor of attractiveness. The doctrine of the permanence of the individuality of the Soul is the starting-point of all the systems of philosophy, and the Vedānta can claim no special rights for it. Also, mere knowledge of the unchangeable character of the Soul leads one no where; and if this should be the aim of all philosophy, few people would care to make a study of it. Philosophy would then be barren, and philosophic endeavour a futile exertion. Philosophy, at least in India, is never tolerated as mere gymnastics of the intellect. It is always expected to be of vital benefit to the seeker in bringing him the *summum bonum* of his existence. As said the great Kumārila:

> *Sarvasyaiva hi śāstrasya karmaṇo vāpi kasya cit* |
> *Yāvat prayojanam no'ktam tāvat tat kena gṛhyate* ||
> (*Ślokavārttika*, I.12)

The second book is less adventurous in character. It is a sort of *prolegomena* to the study of the ten Upaniṣads found valuable by the systematists of Vedānta. It consists of six sections; the first, which is introductory in character, deals with the nature of the Upaniṣads and their importance; in the four succeeding sections we are introduced to the ten Upaniṣads themselves; the first of these gives the thirteen allegorical stories contained in these Upaniṣads, the second, the chief doctrines contained in them, the third, some of the means of self-realization mentioned in these texts, and the last, the many illustrations used in the Upaniṣads in the course of their teaching. The last section is the Conclusion.

This book will be found useful by all those who seek to understand the Upaniṣads in the light of Advaitic interpretation. It cannot serve, however, as a guide to those who would like to understand the Upaniṣads as they are, and without the taint of later interpretation. A critical study of the Upaniṣads shows that they cannot be described as *entirely* philosophical texts, and that there is much in them that is unphilosophical. Nor is it right to imagine that they have a single, definite philosophical doctrine to teach. They are only a conglomeration of diverse philosophical ideas which, singly or collectively, help these texts to form the foundation of each later system of Indian Philosophy.

Defects apart, these two books are a distinct addition to existent philosophical literature in Kannaḍa. Written in a language which is easy, clear and simple, they are accessible to the layman to whom they are primarily intended. The scholar will find in them much food for thought.

H. G. NARAHARI

Historical Method in Relation to The Problems of South Indian History, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras., 1941. Price Re. 1-12-0.

The Department of Indian History has been issuing from time to time the results of investigations conducted in the Department both in the form of standard treatises as well as Bulletins. The brochure under review is the seventh Bulletin of the Department and is based on a course of lectures delivered by Professor Nilakanta Sastri in 1938 and now published with only slight variations. Its prime purpose though only to serve the students of the Department the justification of a wider use is only too proper. The results embodied in the five chapters represent the experience of a Professor of standing whose *Colas* have superseded all earlier work

done on that subject and will continue to be so for years to come. In the field of historical research the caution with which Professor Nilakanta Sastri has recorded the results of his investigation in so difficult a branch of South Indian history has won the admiration and praise of all discerning historians of our country. The rich experiences of a teacher of nearly thirty years have, under the guise of these lectures, cleared many of the initial difficulties that every student of South Indian History is likely to encounter. As such it should be treated as a kind of a handbook to each new worker in the field.

The result of a close study of the brochure with the Appendix on the 'Hints to the Students' is to leave a vivid impression on the mind of the reader as to how best one should strive to do or undertake and carry on investigations on subjects relating to history. Discussions as to whether one can start to write history with preconceived ideas show the dangers of such a procedure. In the evaluation of the several types of evidence literary archæological or epigraphical each must depend upon the merits of the case and the connecting links thereto. To the students of South Indian history the staggering number of inscriptions now available for study and the scripts in which they are written are a problem by themselves as they number over forty-thousand. The great lack of adequate bibliographical aids absorbs the valuable time of each worker which could be spent more profitably. If only the productions of the various departments of Archaeology in Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, Pudukottah and the half-century of work of the Madras Department of Epigraphy were well indexed it would be a great help. Nor is epigraphical evidence very definite in each case. The interrelation of several inscriptions of the several dynasties require a careful and discerning investigation to arrive at the truth of historical transactions.

Deliberate falsification of history has sometimes happened. The False-Decretals (p. 15) will bear ample testimony to such attempts. Boasting is often taken as a fact as also the exaggerated

versions of the court-poet . . . and legends often embody historical anecdotes. How best to arrive at the truth ? Instances of names in history, especially in Indian history, wielding a magic influence by reason of the tradition embodying them are many, *e.g.*, the Nine Gems of Vikramāditya, Trinetra Pallava. Every source has to be tapped but every atom of historical material has to be gathered and tested before it could be accepted.

Incidentally Professor Sastri has indicated some of the important historical documents on which work awaits to be done in the future. He strongly pleads, and that is meant to set the real standard, for a high standard of historical research not only in investigation but in publication as well for " building up a proper standard of historical research" (p. 53).

A. N. KRISHNAN

Telugu Literature Outside the Telugu Country, by K. Ramakrishnaiya, M.A., Head of the Department of Telugu, University of Madras, 1941. Price Annas 8.

Published as No. 9 of the Madras University Telugu Series, this bulletin contains the survey of the growth and development of Telugu literature in the Tamil and Kannada countries under the Vijayanagar empire and later under the Naiks of Madura and Tanjore, the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore and the rulers of Mysore. Mr. Ramakrishnaiya avers that this period of Telugu literature should be considered as the period of transition between the age of *Prabandha* which reached its peak under Kṛṣṇadevarāya and the modern age that followed (p. 9). It should be remembered, that following the high traditions of the *Prabandha* literature the Telugu literature of the Tamil country developed on new lines adapting itself to the environments. The revival of some of the old types of composition (des'i) yakṣagāna, daruvu, kīrtana etc. were the productions of the age. In Tyāgarāja and Kṣetrayya are

to be seen some of the most noteworthy composers in these compositions (p. 10).

Acyuta and Raghunātha, among the Naiks of Tanjore, share the honour of patronage. Raghunātha was both a poet and ruler and his court could count the best among the scholars of the time as his protegés. Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, Govinda Dīkṣita-Venkaṭa Kavi, Kumāra Tātācārya, Kṛṣṇādhvari of *Naiṣadha pārijātīya* form a galaxy by themselves. The patronage was continued by Vijayarāghava, son of Raghunātha, but the tragic end of the ruler cost him his kingdom as well as his life.

Under the Maharatta rulers, Sahaji the great patron of letters was a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He himself produced a large number of dramas. The grandfather of the great Tyāgarāja, Girirāja kavi and his uncle Vijayarāya Vasanta kavi were both the products of the time. Under Sarabhoji II (A.D. 1800) lived Tyāgarāja the great south Indian composer and saint.

In Madura it was during the time Vijayaranga that Telugu literature attained some prominence, though earlier there were productions of merit by individual writers. In the Karnāṭaka country the development of Telugu prose as in the Pāṇḍya country is to be considered as "the literary monuments that represent the Andhra genius" (p. 21). Dealing with the characteristic features of the period of transition the author concludes thus:

"The credit of having revived this deśi literature and developed some new branches that have become the most characteristic features of the modern age in Telugu goes to the Telugu kings that ruled outside the Telugu country." This is the contribution—and by no means a small contribution of the Tamil land to the literature of our Andhra brethren. Mr. Ramakrishnaiya has rendered a real service by working out this topic to the glory of the Tamils and Andhras in the Tamil country.

A. N. KRISHNAN

Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Nagpur University. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14. Price Re. 1-8-0.

This is the fourth time that this inscription is being edited and the justification for a fourth edition lies in the recent discovery in 1939 at Basim of a copper plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II which has thrown new light on the history of the southern branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Mahāmahopādhyāya Mirashi has undertaken the task of re-editing the inscription in the light of this new material and has tried to reconstruct some of the names of kings of this dynasty which have been mutilated in the inscriptions and have been hitherto only inferred from the evidence at our disposal and possible alternative names.

The inscription is situated on the left side of the wall at the extreme end of the XVIth cave at Ajanta in H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions and has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather. The language is Sanskrit and the characters are of the box-headed variety. The inscription is one of the minister Varāhadeva of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣena. The main interest of the inscription lies in the first part which gives the Vākāṭaka geneology from Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the family. Pravarasena succeeded him but it is when we come to the name of his successor there is difference of opinion. Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal read it as Rudrasena which was adopted by Buehler though the latter averred that Rudrasena was a grandson and not a son of Pravarasena. Prof. Mirashi has considered the question in the light of the fresh material and has concluded that the name Sarvasena as the son of Pravarasena is correct (p. 4). The geneological tree shown on page 7, of the Vākāṭaka dynasty till king Hariṣena, drawn from the inscription now edited gives the position of the Māhāmahopādhyāya. He further avers that the Vatsagulma branch must be distinguished from another branch of the Vākāṭaka family which is known from stone and copper plate inscriptions and the separation of the two branches

should have to be taken from the reign Pravarasena I as shown in page 8. Basing his conclusion on this Professor Mirashi arrives at the further step that Devasena and Harișena belonged to a different line from that of Narendrasena and his son Pṛthvīṣena II (p. 9).

The careful editing of the mutilated inscription in spite of the present discoveries is a herculean task which the Professor has discharged with consummate skill. While keeping himself faithful to the original he has supplied with great skill words which could be restored. The publication does credit to both the editor of the inscription and the series under which it appears.

A. N. KRISHNAN

The Early Aryans in Gujarata, by K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., Thakkar Vassanji Madhavaji Lectures, University of Bombay.

In spite of the many preoccupations that Mr. Munshi has been having, he has essentially remained a scholar in the pursuit of historical research. The Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan the new institute founded under his chairmanship in Bombay displays a wider vision of historical training and research. The journal of the Bhavan has often had contributions from Mr. Munshi showing the sustained interest of the administrator in literary pursuit. As a scholar Mr. Munshi has already made a mark by his writings in Gujarati on historical subjects and the book under review represents his studies in the Purāṇas in relation to Gujarāt.

Mr. Munshi was attracted to a study of the Purāṇas and while studying the Vedic literature, came to the conclusion that the method of approach of Mr. Pargiter towards the testimony of the Purāṇas required revision. However, the efforts of that scholar required to be followed up in the light of new material and scientific canons of testing credibility of evidence (p. ii). The main defect of the attempt of Mr. Pargiter lay in that he attached too much importance to Purāṇic materials which he called Kṣatriya tradition as contrasted with the Vedic which he called Brahmanical (p. 6).

He failed to apply the test of Vedic tradition to the details contained in the Purāṇas and consequently fell into the errors which he could have avoided (p. 7). In the lectures embodied in this work under review Mr. Munshi proceeds to examine the Purāṇic traditions by applying the corrective of Vedic references.

The first historical event to be taken note of is the Battle of the Ten Kings or the *Das'arājña*. On a critical examination the results of the more reliable Vedic data destroy the accuracy of the purāṇic traditional accounts (p. 15). There is no doubt that the Purāṇas have indiscriminately mixed up names in order to construct fictitious family trees and the synchronism given by the Ṛgvedic evidence should be accepted (p. 17).

The evidence of the Aryan settlement in Gujarāt has to be mainly drawn from the Purāṇas though their connection is much older than the *Das'arājña* (p. 18). A closer examination of the accounts of the tribes of the Mānavas, the S'aryātas and the Bhṛgus with their intimate interrelations (p. 26) finds a reflection in the many legends recorded, and there is nothing to indicate that these tribes were not in Gujarāt from the earliest recorded tradition. The Haihayas, though later in point of time, may be considered as belonging to the Yayāti group but closely allied to the S'aryātas. Arjuna Kārtavīrya is an individual while his immediate descendants are all eponymous kings (p. 29). The Haihaya Confederacy had Arjuna for its leader and occupied a territory which was bound by the Yamunā on the north-east, Vetravati or the Betwa on the east, the Narmadā on the south and the sea and the desert on the west. Arjuna Kārtavīrya rose as the mighty conqueror and raised the Haihaya power to its height. On the ruins of the Nāga settlement, on the banks of the Narmadā, he raised the first great Āryan city of western India-namely *Māhiṣmatī*.

The end of Kārtavīrya was tragic as the conflict with Bhārgava Rāma ended disastrously for the Haihaya chief. Māhiṣmatī was apparently destroyed and the doubtful existence of what appears under the name in later literature (p. 38) adds to the

difficulty. It is argued that the *Meghadūta* omits to mention the name of Māhiṣmatī when it had a very good and justifiable opportunity in describing the path of the megha. It is difficult to accept this conclusion as it is this same Kālidāsa who mentions *Māhiṣmatī* in the sixth canto of the *Raguvaṃs'a*. The argument of silence can cut both ways.

The need for accepting more than one city of Māhiṣmati is next postulated. And after careful consideration the conclusion is put forward that the *Māhiṣmatī* of King Nila was different from that of Kārtavīrya. A third *Māhiṣmatī* founded by Mucukunda has also disappeared from view. A comparative study of the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict with the Purāṇic and Vedic accounts leads to the conclusion that the battle of Ten Kings and the synchronisms of the table (on p. 67) should be considered as an aspect of the Haihaya Bhṛgu conflict. The races that settled from the banks of the Sarasvati to that of the Narmadā must have been homogeneous in blood, language and culture, long before the period of the Ṛgvedic Mantras. The final result of the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict was the Aryanization of India north of the Narmadā both political and cultural. In the light of the critical enquiry, the results are summed up in pp. 91-95 followed by a re-statement of the geneology of Pargiter as envisaged by the author.

More than all these is his desire that the history of our country should to be written from our own view-point. In fact, examination of the material by Indians from their own point of view, of the development of their culture, literature, Art etc. and the reactions of these on the national life really await to be done only hereafter ; "and a Nation which seeks self-realisation must undertake the work (p. 103)." We cannot better conclude except with a desire and hope that this stimulating study will be followed by others equally thought-provoking. Happy is the nation whose statesmen are scholars.

A. N. KRISHNAN

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